

Money sucks,
Poverty's worse

Join the fight for a \$15 an hour minimum wage

By Helena Bla-Latchkey

Minimum wage struggle is something that most people can agree on. It is a populist class struggle. Not only do many workers have minimum wage jobs — most of us know somebody who does. We know that they don't get paid less because they are somehow lesser. The inequity and tragedy of poverty is structural. Raising the minimum wage is something straightforward to ask for, and feasible to accomplish.

Many organizations and unions throughout the US are working with minimum wage workers to make a \$15 an hour minimum wage a reality. *Fast Food Forward* has organized strikes throughout the country, demanding \$15 per hour for fast food workers. *Fight For 15* has helped organize throughout Chicago. Protest groups across the country gathered at Wal-Marts with the same straightforward slogan. *15 Now* has been highly active in Seattle. All of these organizations are backed by unions, and focus on the unionization

industry lobbying front, stated that if minimum wages were to increase so much, they would simply recommend employees be replaced with Apple technology. McD's has already installed thousands of iServers in Europe. If this system were implemented in the US, it's estimated that McD's could layoff at least 14,000 people immediately. Although this is a small fraction of McD's workers, it is a disturbing direction to take and I shudder to imagine how it might progress. McD's has often been the trend-setter of its industry, and it seems likely that if iServers are shown to be a viable alternative to hiring employees then Wendy's, Jack in the Box and the rest may also jump on the iWagon.

The city of Seatac, a small suburb south of Seattle centered around the SeaTac International Airport with 27,000 residents, recently won a union-backed campaign known as Proposition 1, for a \$15 an hour minimum wage. In November 2013, it passed by a margin of just 77 votes, directly benefiting about 1,600 workers. The

SLINGSHOT

Alphabet Soup

some thoughts on
the Acronym and Identity Politics

by Joey

Folks who have been in or around gender and sexuality-based movement for the past decade or so have probably noticed an explosion of identities. These new words, new names, new ways of describing oneself and one's relation to the world — and I'm not sure whether they're really new, or just more visible than ever before — are maybe most apparent in the lengthening of what gets called "the acronym": LGBT*QQIAP+, as it's often written in the queer spaces I inhabit. (The T* is for trans* [gender, sexual, etc.] the first Q is for queer, the second for questioning, the I for intersex, the A for asexual, the P for pansexual, and the + for other identities that haven't made the leap to acronym status yet.) These complex identities and their infinite, unique combinations show a world that is rich in its forms of gender, desire, play, presentation, and power — as some of the subjects in Sarah Deragon's recent photo show *The Identity*

gender-desire table, the better.

And yet there's definitely a more complicated internal politics at play: how did we get from LGBT (still the most common form currently, as far as I can tell) to LGBT*QQIAP+? How many people had to identify as pansexual before educators, activists, writers, and others would remember to write a P? Which identities are struggling to be acronymized? More importantly, what is gained and what is lost in the struggle for acronym status, and in the focus on identity that it requires?

I come to the acronym from a position of privilege, not just as a white, able-bodied, college-educated cisguy, but as someone who arrived on the scene late enough to find that when I thought of myself as bi, there was already a B waiting for me; and when I thought of myself as gay there was a G, too; and when I started thinking of

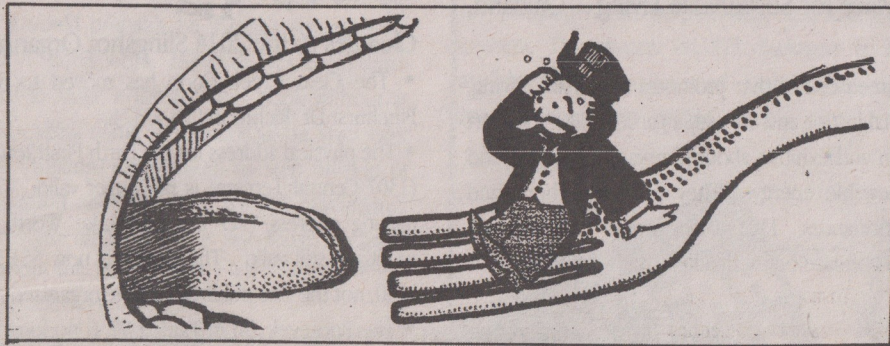


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of workers, as well as the minimum wage struggle.

Predictably, fast food giants have responded to strikes by saying these are impossible demands that would only result in mass layoffs, despite the fact that these companies are highly profitable. The Employment Policies Institute, a restaurant

measure also forces companies to give workers paid sick days, retain workers for at least 90 days after any change in ownership and promote part-time workers to full-time before hiring new

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the Acronym and Identity Politics

by Joey

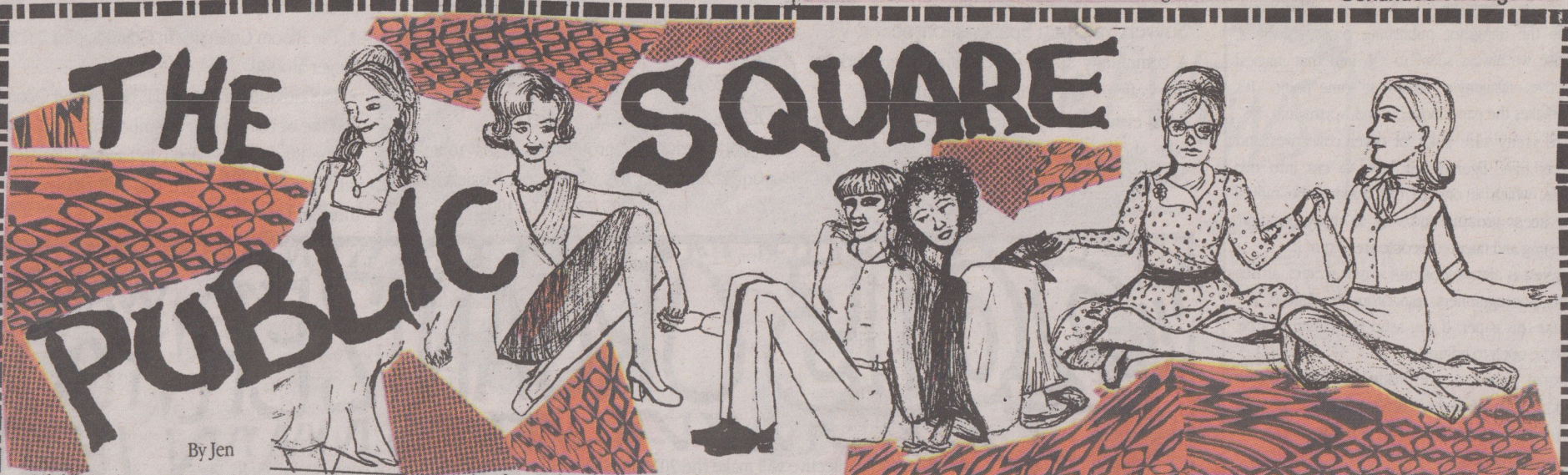
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gender-desire table, the better.

And yet there's definitely a more complicated internal politics at play: how did we get from LGBT (still the most common form currently, as far as I can tell) to LGBT*QQIAP+? How many people had to identify as pansexual before educators, activists, writers, and others would remember to write a P? Which identities are struggling to be acronymized? More importantly, what is gained and what is lost in the struggle for acronym status, and in the focus on identity that it requires?

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Continued on Page 6



By Jen

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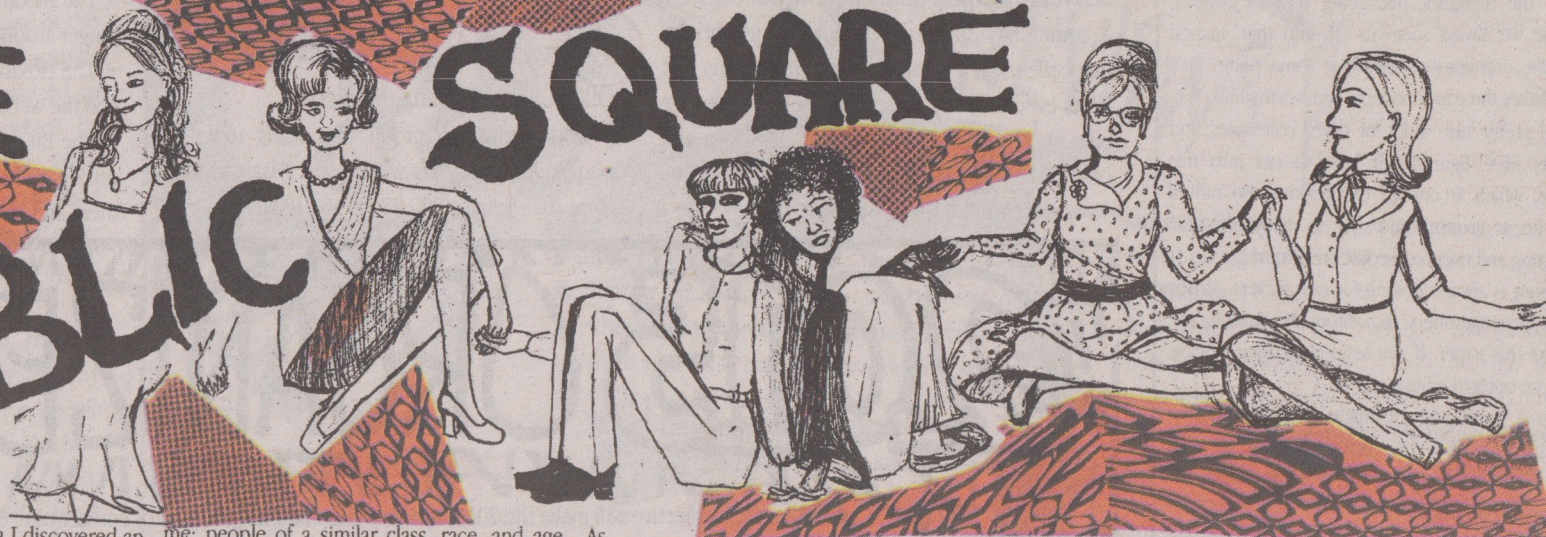
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THE PUBLIC SQUARE

By Jen



While traveling in Latin America I discovered an incredible tool for community building. A place where people of all ages come to hang out, share ideas, play chess and soccer, drink beer, boom music, tell jokes, run and flirt and dance and sing and sit quietly and let time pass. Where no one has to buy anything, there's no bouncer, no opening time or closing time, and no dress code. Where nothing is provided for other than space. And in this space, life happens.

To me, this was a phenomenon. Growing up in a country where loitering, in many places, is illegal, I struggled as a teenager to find places where I was allowed to hang out with friends and not spend money that I didn't have. There was the beach, but even this brought its own sense of bikini-clad body attention and physical prowess competitions of volleyball and body surfing. The park closed at dark and, at some point, started charging a fee to enter. Because of this, I spent the majority of my time in private spaces, with people who were like

me; people of a similar class, race, and age. As such, rather than my views of the world expanding, the company that I kept continued to reinforce my viewpoints. It is easy to be dismissive and say "well, that's just how things are." A truly liberation education, however, *seeks* to be inclusive. Rather than narrowing lenses through which to understand it, a liberating education (and by education I am referring to the education we all receive daily through our millions of interactions with the world

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around us) is one which expands our experiences and offers new possibilities with which to understand the world. It's not something that comes easy, but one which must be sought after, created, and actualized. One in which we seek people that are different from us, where we step out of our habits and patterns, consider other ways of being and doing, and expand our definition of "we."

To be effective in this world, to be vibrant and alive, is to allow the world in and to interact with it. This, however, requires interactions that challenge us, that offer new ideas, that help us to see our common humanity, that offer different views of our own convictions and interpretations. If we look throughout history, we will see that every innovation, every movement or action that is

oriented towards justice and towards true community, involved bringing people together, across lines of disconnect and difference. I do not

mean to imply that we should never take individual stands, but rather that in the positions to which we hold true, we must consistently be willing to adjust and revise our ideas and ideals based on a constant stream of incoming information. Otherwise we become fossils, relics of previous thoughts, prepared to be memorialized in museums of history.

The realm of public space in this country is diminishing rapidly and with it is a potential collaboration hub for brewing ideas on how to be Subjects upon the world, rather than Objects that the world works upon. This slow encroachment of control over public spaces seems almost inconsequential; we all have places to be, whether it is in playgrounds or theaters, grocery stores or our own backyards. But where are the places where we can *just* be, without paying a fee, engaging in a preplanned activity, or getting kicked out at closing time? I was exhilarated when

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SLINGSHOT

Slingshot is an independent radical newspaper published in Berkeley since 1988.

If we told you how loosely the collective that publishes this paper is organized, you wouldn't believe us. Decisions are made by whoever is in the room at any particular moment, and it's typical for two dozen people to cycle through over a 48 hour period. There are always a few folks who've just stumbled in who end up drawing the cover art or writing the headlines. Having an open collective is usually a strength because it welcomes new energy and keeps us fresh, even though it's also frequently scary like walking a tight rope.

If our main goal was just making a paper, doing it like this might not make sense. But the key insight of *Slingshot*-reality is that there are more important things than speed and efficiency. That kind of thinking is what leads to systems of domination over most by a few and destruction of precious cultural and natural treasures to support a consumer culture of crap. The real question we need to ask ourselves is whether this is exciting and how does it make us feel? Are we engaged with those around us and yet somehow free, too? Unlike a job where you just show up because you have to, in a collective you only stay if it's fun.

Because our collective never knows what's going to happen, the mix of articles we publish and topics we cover can be uneven — concentrating on particular topics and missing others. Yet, as in this issue, this openness can capture the zeitgeist. We have a lot of articles from different perspectives about the acute housing shortage in the Bay Area and the dislocation, absurd prices and radical projects related to the housing crisis. The other topic that struck a nerve is the possibility posed by public space, occupations and the commons.

If you've spent any time at an occupation or other temporary liberated zone like a WTO-style protest, squat, community garden, etc. you probably noticed the amazing way people relate to each other in these contexts. We often end up surprising ourselves with our courage, creativity, and capacity to do it ourselves. The collective consciousness during such a moment is extraordinary.



Compiled by Jesse D. Palmer

Here are some new radical spaces you can visit that are not listed in the 2014 Organizer, plus some updates. These spaces are opened and kept going by folks everywhere to provide physical expressions of the world we seek — organized around cooperation, pleasure and freedom rather than greed, standardization and control. We're going to update the entire radical contact list this summer when we publish the 2015 Organizer, so let us know if there is a space near you that isn't on our radar. By the way, the on-line version of the radical contact list has been broken due to a computer problem and therefore has not been updated since last summer but we are hoping to fix it: slingshot.tao.ca. Happy travels this summer!



The Grease Diner — Oakland, CA

An art gallery and zine shop that has an open DIY silk screening studio. 6604 San Pablo Ave. Oakland, CA 94608 510 370-0100

Shameless Grounds — St. Louis, MO

A sex positive coffee shop with a sex-oriented library shop that hosts radical sex-oriented events. 1901 Withnell Ave Saint Louis, MO 63118 314-449-1240. shamelessgrounds.com

EarthDance farms — Ferguson, MO

An organic farm/school that encourages art, music, resource sharing, and community building around food production and sustainability. They have an artist in residence program, library, classes and volunteer opportunities. 233 S. Dade Ave. Ferguson, MO 63135 314-521-1006 earthdancefarms.org

IntegreTea — Vallejo, CA

A tea shop that hosts a zine library and art space. 717 Marin Street, Vallejo, CA 94590

Time's Up! - New York, NY

A bicycle direct action/advocacy non-profit that has a space where you can fix your own bike. 99 South 6th Street Brooklyn, NY 11211 212-802-8222. times-up.org

A Place for Sustainable Living — Oakland, CA

A green center that promotes sustainable living, social justice and art with a garden, bike shop, art barn and exhibits about graywater, compost and renewable energy. They host workshops and performances. 1121 64th Street Oakland, CA 94608 aplaceforsustainableliving.org

Horn of Plenty Community Centre - Reservoir, Australia

They have a library, bike workshop, community garden and host events, music and art. Open Friday & Saturday. 659 Plenty Road Reservoir, VIC 3073 Australia

Bombs and Candies Infolibary — Philippines

An infoshop with a library. Blk 24 Lot 51 Phase 1 Ciudad Adelina Brgy. Conchu, Trece Martinez City Cavite, Philippines 4109, phone: +639 096028849 candiesandwhims@riseup.net



Changes to the 2014 Slingshot Organizer

- The Clear Creek Coop has moved to 3722 Pinehurst Dr. Richmond IN 47374.
- The physical address for the Earth First! Journal (1307 Central Terrace) is no longer valid. Their mailing address (PO Box 964 Lake Worth, FL 33460) is still valid. The phone is now 561-320-3840, not the one published in the organizer.
- The Roosevelt 2.0 in Tampa, FL is no longer at

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These moments are also fleeting — the good feeling appears unexpectedly and can be crushed quickly, too. And once crushed, an occupation can't necessarily just move down the street or re-constitute itself to re-capture the exciting feeling. Such moments can't be organized or contained — they happen because conditions are right. Which makes the *Slingshot* publishing process curious, because we always seem to tap into that magical collective engagement feeling at some point. It's what makes the paper possible and worthwhile.

We're pretty sure a lot of other collectives and projects have figured out how to tap into this miracle, which is one of the reasons the radical scene keeps growing and why so many beautiful, interesting and talented people are part of it.

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Guide to Kulchur — Cleveland, OH

A book and zine shop that hosts events, meetings and Cleveland Books to Prisoners. 1386 W. 65th St, Cleveland, OH 44102 guidetokulchurcleveland.com

Soversiva Open Space - Montpelier, VT

A community space with a zine library, books, free coffee/tea, a computer, and art supplies that hosts events. They share space with a collective bike shop called Freeride. Open Mondays and other times. 89 Barre St. Montpelier, VT 05602 www.radspacemontpelier.wordpress.com

events. 1301 Wilmet Ave Saint Louis, MO 63116 314-449-1240. shamelessgrounds.com

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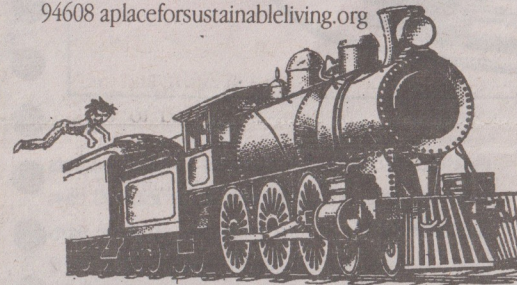
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Peace Resource Center — Seaside, CA

They have a lending library, computers and host movies and events. 1364 Fremont, Seaside, CA 93955 831-899-7322 peacecentral.wordpress.com

Ollin Calli — Tijuana, Mexico

A worker-advocacy group that leads tours of maquiladoras and has workshops. Pasaje Gyzme Local 2025 Tijuana B.C. 22000 664-1902586

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- The Roosevelt 2.0 in Tampa, FL is no longer at that address. They are trying to open a new location in Myakka City, FL.
- Iron Rail in New Orleans has closed.
- Centro Social CCC in San Juan Puerto Rico has closed
- Mondragon books in Winnipeg, Manitoba has closed.
- The Bloom Collective in Grand Rapids, MI is no longer around.
- The Holdout in Oakland is now called Qilombo and the website is now qilombo.org.
- The Bike City Recyclery in Fayetteville, AR may no longer be there. We got mail returned from them and other contact info doesn't work.

THE 2015 ORGANIZED WANTS

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Editorial decisions are made by the Slingshot Collective but not all the articles reflect the opinions of all collectives members. We welcome debate and constructive criticism.

Thanks to the people who made this: Aaron, Andrew, Darin, Eggplant, Finn, Glenn, Hayley, Heather, Kelly, Lydia, Jesse, Jet, Josh, Joey, Judy, J-tron, Soren, Stephski, Xander, Zoe and all the authors and artists.

Slingshot New Volunteer Meeting

Volunteers interested in getting involved with Slingshot can come to the new volunteer meeting on August 17, 2014 at 4 pm at the Long Haul in Berkeley (see below.)

Article Deadline & Next Issue Date

Submit your articles for issue 117 on September 13, 2014 at 3 p.m.

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Slingshot collective will make the 2015 organizer this summer. Drop by or contact us to help. We are a tiny collective so we're relying on the Slingshot miracle to make the organizer. That's when a variety of folks we've never met before show up during the two weekends we make the organizer to sit in the Slingshot loft making art, listening to music, eating food and making decisions at meetings. The Organizer layout party creates a temporary community sort of like an occupation except with pens and glue rather than tents and bongo drums. Sound like fun? Join us.

In May and June, we'll edit, correct and improve the list of historical dates. Send us ideas for stuff to add that happened since last year. The deadline for finishing is June 27. If you want to design a section of the calendar, let us know or send us random art by June 28. The deadline to finish calendar pages or give us suggestions for 2015 is July 25. We need all new radical contact listings and cover art submissions by July 25. If you have ideas for the short features we publish in the back, let us know by July 25. We try to print different features every year. If you're in the Bay Area July 26/27 or August 2/3, we'll put it all together by hand those weekends so plan your visit...

SLINGSHOT FREE STUFF

We'll send you a random assortment of back issues of *Slingshot* for the cost of postage: Send \$3 for 2 lbs. Free if you're an infoshop or library. Also, our full-color coffee table book about People's Park is free or by sliding scale donation: send \$1 - \$25. We also have surplus copies of the 2014 Organizer available free in bulk for distro to people who wouldn't otherwise purchase one such as prisoners, youth & the oppressed. Email or call us: slingshot@tao.ca / Box 3051 Berkeley, 94703.



Circulation Information

Subscriptions to Slingshot are free to prisoners, low income and anyone in the USA with a Slingshot Organizer, or \$1 per issue or back issue. International \$3 per issue. Outside the Bay Area we'll mail you a free stack of copies if you give them out for free. Each envelope is one lb. (8 copies) — let us know how many envelopes you want. In the Bay Area, pick up copies at Long Haul or Bound Together Books in SF.

HUNGRY FOR Justice

By Alec

1,200 inmates at the Northwest Detention Center outside of Tacoma, WA went on hunger strike March 7, 2014. The Northwest Detention Center is a corporate-owned prison for people facing deportation. The strikers demanded better food, wages higher than one dollar a day, better treatment and medical care, an end to exorbitant prices in the commissary and fundamental fairness and justice. The strikers are also protesting the 2 million people deported so far under the Obama administration with 1300 people being deported every day. Despite his outreach to the Latino community and promises to the contrary, Obama has deported more immigrants than any president in US history.

The inmates at the Northwest Detention center are fed boiled potatoes and beans for every meal, every day. The prison staff treat them as less than human with constant harassment and intimidation. Detainees are referred to by numbers, not their names. Prisoners have limited or no access to medical care. One incarcerated man who suffered from a severe nosebleed was made to wait twenty-four hours to see a doctor and almost died choking on his own blood.

Rather than respond to the strikers' demands, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and the GEO group have retaliated against the hunger strike. The day after the strike began, the guards' uniforms changed to riot gear and they began recording the names and numbers of prisoners who were striking. The guards told the strikers that nobody outside cared that they were striking and that they would be denied asylum and deported because of their actions. The

facility that failed because of lack of support from the outside. This time, activists inside and outside the prison have coordinated their efforts, brewing a perfect storm for the GEO group and ICE. The Northwest Detention Center hunger strike is only the latest protest action against deportation in a string of actions that have been taking place for years, growing in number and volume as well as boldness. People are paying attention.

The United States is in the midst of the largest prison build-up in history. There are more black and Latino people in prison now than there were

In 2007, a piece of legislation called the "bed mandate" was put into place, requiring ICE to fill 34,000 detention center beds in the US with immigrant prisoners at all times in order to receive federal funds. There is no way to negotiate around this number -- 34,000 prison beds are filled by immigrants and the DHS and ICE and get paid.

ICE is focused on locking up undocumented immigrants and they do not care which ones as long as they meet their quota. While some undocumented immigrants are arrested and forced into deportation for breaking the law,

feeling of isolation and a decreased feeling of safety in the Latino community. The study found that 38% of Latinos are afraid to leave their homes.

Corporations such as the GEO group, which runs the Northwest Detention Center, and the Corrections Corporation of America, receive \$165 per night per immigrant that is detained. ICE in cooperation with local law enforcement detains 1,300 immigrants per day. The money that is going into the pockets of these prison corporations is coming out of the taxpayers' wallets. The Latino community is being targeted more than any other community in this regard, but as ICE becomes more desperate for deportations we may see European, Asian, African and Caribbean immigrants being detained and deported in large numbers.

Over 200 demonstrators rallied outside of the Northwest Detention Center on March 11, 2014. They yelled, sang and banged pots and pans to express their solidarity with the strikers inside, who were denying themselves food to bring immigrant detainees more attention and better treatment. A national day of action took place April 5.

The historic act of resistance at NWDC and other hunger strikes by prisoners against their captors at Guantanamo Bay, Pelican Bay in California, and in Palestine, demonstrates that people will not give up their dignity even in the darkest corners of the world. Prisoners have the strength to use non-violence to highlight the brutality of the system. Rebellions like these are becoming more common as are actions expressed in solidarity with them outside the



slaves in the South before the Civil War. America has the most prisons of any nation in the world. Many of these prisons are for-profit, meaning they are run by corporations that receive taxpayer money for every person that they lock up. Around 1.6 million people are in state and federal prisons (as of the U.S. census in 2010), and every

many of those detained at the Northwest Detention Center are babysitters, farmers, landscapers, foragers of mushrooms, and shellfish harvesters at Washington's oyster and clam farms. ICE patrols neighborhoods, forests where immigrants forage, and Department of Fish and Wildlife offices where permits for fishing and

to the contrary, Obama has deported more immigrants than any president in US history.

The inmates at the Northwest Detention center are fed boiled potatoes and beans for every meal, every day. The prison staff treat them as less than human with constant harassment and intimidation. Detainees are referred to by numbers, not their names. Prisoners have limited or no access to medical care. One incarcerated man who suffered from a severe nosebleed was made to wait twenty-four hours to see a doctor and almost died choking on his own blood.

Rather than respond to the strikers' demands, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and the GEO group have retaliated against the hunger strike. The day after the strike began, the guards' uniforms changed to riot gear and they began recording the names and numbers of prisoners who were striking. The guards told the strikers that nobody outside cared that they were striking and that they would be denied asylum and deported because of their actions. The guards have also been arbitrarily transferring prisoners to other sections of the prison. The confusion that results from this displacement is a form of psychological torture. Strikers are being isolated from their families and comrades and threatened with force-feeding.

The hunger strike is believed to have been inspired by a February 24 demonstration outside the prison in which protesters blocked vans from leaving the facility. The prisoners inside the vans told other prisoners that people on the outside were putting their bodies on the line to help them. The prisoners wanted to respond to this solidarity action with their own act of resistance. There have been hunger strikes before at this



slaves in the South before the Civil War. America has the most prisons of any nation in the world. Many of these prisons are for-profit, meaning they are run by corporations that receive taxpayer money for every person that they lock up. Around 1.6 million people are in state and federal prisons (as of the U.S. census in 2010), and every able-bodied one of them is required to work. Prison laborers are paid between 23 cents and \$1.15 an hour for manufacturing clothing, solar panels, weapons, etc. Although it is illegal for Federal Prison Industries (also called "Unicor") to sell prisoner-made goods to consumers, the government purchases these goods, replacing private sector companies. The result is the elimination of manufacturing jobs, decreased wages, and subsequent damage to the economy. NASA has contracted prisoners at San Quentin to make satellite parts for pennies an hour — a job once reserved for unionized engineers. Soon, the products of prison labor will be floating between us and the stars.

many of those detained at the Northwest Detention Center are babysitters, farmers, landscapers, foragers of mushrooms, and shellfish harvesters at Washington's oyster and clam farms. ICE patrols neighborhoods, forests where immigrants forage, and Department of Fish and Wildlife offices where permits for fishing and foraging are obtained. They work in conjunction with the police, setting up roadblocks that appear to be DUI checkpoints, but are used by ICE to check immigration documentation.

The Secure Communities Act, a piece of legislation encouraging ICE cooperation with local law enforcement, is a factor supporting the astronomical trend of deportation. The National Day Laborer Organizing Network (NDLON) surveyed the Latino communities in five counties in different states across the US with large Latino populations. Their research showed that since the passage of the Secure Communities Act, 62% of Latinos report that officers stop them without good reason or cause. There is also an increased

but as ICE becomes more desperate for deportations we may see European, Asian, African and Caribbean immigrants being detained and deported in large numbers.

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The strikers in the Northwest Detention Center have expressed that they are not striking as individuals but as one group together. They understand that their actions may not save them from deportation or their inhumane treatment. They are refusing to eat because they do not want anyone else to have to go through what they are going through.

You can donate for prisoners' telephone and commissary accounts, transportation funds for prisoners' families, litigation fees and organizing expenses at gofundme.com/7orehg.

FROM EARTH DAY TO MAY DAY

TOWARDS AN ECOLOGICAL GENERAL STRIKE

Direct actions are planned in the Bay Area

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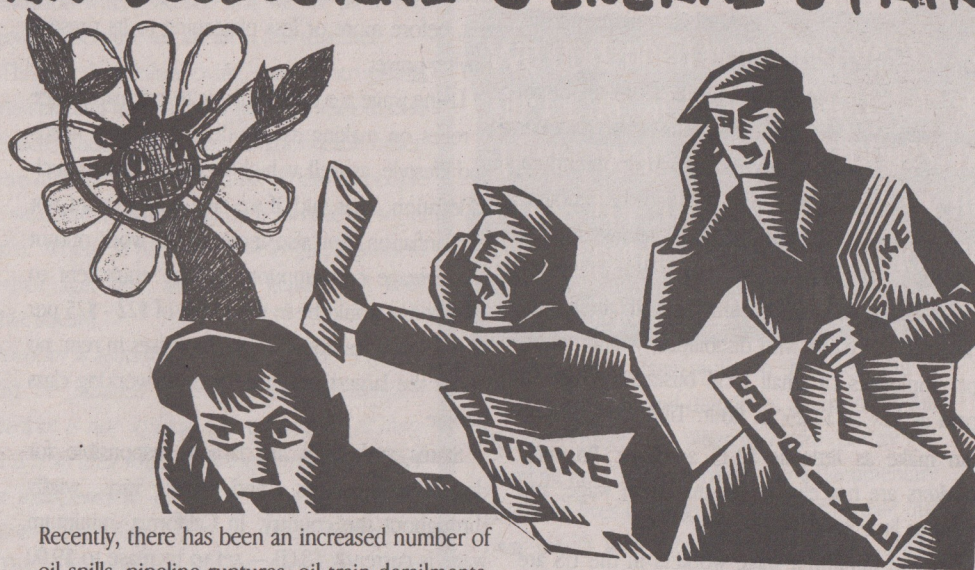
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FROM EARTH DAY TO MAY DAY

TOWARDS AN ECOLOGICAL GENERAL STRIKE

Direct actions are planned in the Bay Area between Earth Day on April 22 and May 1st to raise awareness about the intersections of labor, immigration, and environmental issues. Actions may include sit-ins, tree sits, guerrilla gardening, pickets, marches, blockades and strikes. The goal is to challenge the jobs vs. environment myth, to unite workers and environmentalists against the bosses, and rapidly transition unsustainable industries through direct action. The actions will build foundations for directly democratic workers assemblies and environmental unionist caucuses within existing unions that can organize actions to halt the destruction of the planet.

Workers, the community, and the planet are exploited by the state and capitalist forces that rule over our lives. With capitalism escalating its "extreme energy" rampage of offshore oil drilling, tar sands mining, mountaintop removal, and fracking, a mass movement to oppose these forms of energy is growing and radicalizing.

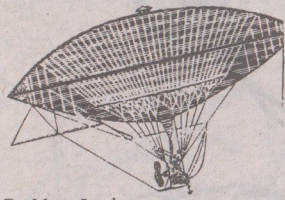


Recently, there has been an increased number of oil spills, pipeline ruptures, oil train derailments, refinery fires, and chemical spills. These disasters have not only harmed the environment but they have also injured and/or killed the very workers whom the capitalists depend on to extract these resources.

The same capitalist economic system destroying the Earth is destroying the lives of the workers with eroding health and safety standards, downsizing and outsourcing the workforce, establishing a "blame the worker" safety culture,

and creating dangerous labor conditions all around. These conditions that endanger the workers are also directly harming the communities around them with cancers and asthma from air pollution. Yet boss propaganda seeks to convince us that environmentalists are a threats to jobs. It's time for workers and environmentalists to take direct action for health and safety and a halt to the destruction of our world.

A globalized ecological insurrection is inevitable and in fact has already begun – from First Nations people leading a militant opposition to new oil pipelines to workers and environmentalists in Japan standing up against nuclear power and pollution. It's time for an ecological general strike where workers and environmentalists take over and blockade unsustainable industries and dismantle what can't be rapidly transitioned. Join the action April 22 – May 1: ecogeneralstrike@riseup.net



LET'S MESH UP THE NET!

TOWARDS A PEOPLE'S INTERNET

DOES THIS
BLIMP HAVE
WI-FI?



By Marc Juul

The past few years have seen many threats to our digital freedom. In 2011, BART shut down cell phone service to stop a planned Occupy action. In 2012 massive online protests managed to stop proposed U.S. laws extending the power of copyright holders to censor online content, yet the same laws will likely re-emerge in other forms. Revelations of the extent of government mass surveillance shook the world in 2013 and only two weeks ago, the Turkish government blocked access to Twitter when evidence of government corruption was leaked on social networking sites. In the US, plans are currently underway to merge two of the largest ISPs, Comcast and Time Warner Cable, into a megacorp controlling nearly one third of U.S. broadband customers. At the same time, Comcast has been making the news by managing to legally violate the principle of Net Neutrality (that all data on the internet should be treated equal) allowing them to blackmail content-providers with the threat of censorship.

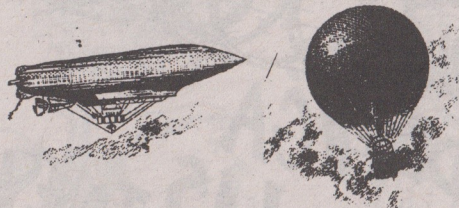
These and other incidents have made it clear that many of those who control our digital access are working against our best interests in attempts to control, monitor and limit the flow of information. We cannot keep relying on their networks. If we want a free internet, we will have to build it ourselves.

The community network

For over a decade now, hackers around the world have been building their own community owned and operated networks. Based mostly on wifi, but supplemented in places with fast fiber connections or laser links, these networks give free or at-cost access to not just the global

neighbor's router to the next. A whole city full of these routers would allow anyone in the city to connect to anyone else by letting data hop from one router to the next.

These networks exist. They're called Mesh Networks, and several cities, including Berlin and Athens have networks of hundred or thousands of connected homes. Mesh networks aren't a necessity for community networks, the community network guifi.net in Catalonia is made up of all kinds of connections, including wifi and fiber, and does not rely on a Mesh technology for most of its ~24,000 nodes. Rather, people talk to each other and manually configure each connection to each new node.



- An alternative to the corporate ISP -

The infrastructure in these networks is owned by individuals, or collectively through community organizations, and central points of control are actively avoided. Some community members put nodes on their rooftops and hook them into solar panels or wind power. Some experiment with links using lasers or different radio frequencies. The result is a network that is resilient to both natural disaster and human censorship.

A new era

The first of these community networks sprang up in 2001, soon after wifi hardware became available. These networks faced many challenges

home use, not city-wide networks. However, over the past decade, open source hackers have been improving the software, and silicon valley engineers have designed low-cost wifi hardware capable of higher speeds and longer range. Coupled with increasing distrust in corporate service providers and stagnation of internet connection speeds, these changes are ushering in a new era of community wifi networks.

- People's Open Network In Oakland -

We are building a community mesh network in the East Bay called People's Open Network. It is currently being tested in ~25 locations around the bay, so if you see a wifi network called peoplesopen.net try to connect! It should provide free internet access as well as free access to the community network.

Here's how it works: Anyone wishing to be part of the network purchases a mesh node. They plug the node into power, and if another mesh node is within range, then that's it! They are now part of the mesh. If they already have internet access then node owners can opt to share a portion of their internet bandwidth with the rest of the mesh. We use a so-called VPN for all internet-bound traffic, so all activity on shared internet can't be traced back to individuals, it will trace back to an organization dedicated to fielding legal inquiries, and not to you.

leisure and hospitality — some of the fastest growing industries in our increasingly urban culture. In growing and profitable industries, the workers are seeing little of the fruits of their labor.

Historically, the federal government has generally stayed away from minimum wage. The

A global free network

The past few months have seen a collaboration between community networks across the globe, sprout up with the express purpose of defining what it means to be a free network. The results of these discussions are being compiled into a Network Commons License, similar to Open Source and Creative Commons licenses, but for networks. Using this license community networks across the globe will interconnect — essentially forming an alternate free Internet owned by we, the people.

Sudo Mesh

People's Open Network is being developed by a non-hierarchical, forkable, 100% volunteer-run organization called Sudo Mesh. We meet every Thursday night at the Oakland hackerspace Sudo Room.

peoplesopen.net

sudomesh.org

sudoroom.org

hours in a week. Even if this labor were split between two people, this would necessitate both working eleven hour days, six days a week.

In 2012, minimum wage workers comprised 59% of our labor force. Most recipients of minimum wage are women. Over 66% of people receiving the sub-minimum wage of \$2.13 per hour are women. However, two-thirds of mothers work to support their families, and about a third of mothers are sole breadwinners. The majority of these women are over the age of 20, and 40% are over 30, contrary to the common argument that minimum wage workers are all kids fresh out of high school. Proportional to women working, far more black and hispanic women receive minimum

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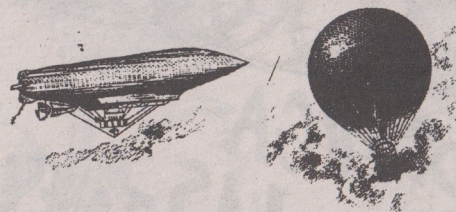
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- How a mesh works -

Imagine if the wifi router in your home didn't just connect you to the internet via your Internet Service Provider, but connected to your neighbors' routers, and relayed traffic from one

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A new era

The first of these community networks sprang up in 2001, soon after wifi hardware became available. Early networks faced many challenges since the first wifi routers were designed for

Hopefully, this may not be the case for long. Seattle has a strong campaign of its own to increase minimum wage to \$15 per hour, which is not only backed by city council person Kshama Sawant, the first Socialist elected in Seattle for nearly 100 years — but also the mayor, Ed Murray. The excitement surrounding these campaigns however surely has little to do with the elected officials that endorse them. It is my impression that the momentum has largely been driven by profound need that is obvious and important to many. I talked to organizer Jess Spear who explained that *15 Now* was formed initially by facilitating neighborhood groups. This allowed diverse people from unions, community groups and leftist organizations, as well as individuals, to come together and campaign. Jess pointed out that such a victory in a major metropolitan center would inspire demoralized working class people everywhere and that this could be the beginning of something much larger. She urged anybody

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Historically, the federal government has generally stayed away from minimum wage. The US has had a minimum wage since 1938; however, it has only increased 22 times since then. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics inflation calculator, the minimum wage held the most purchasing power in 1968, equivalent to



approximately \$10.55 currently. After that, it slowly declined during the 70s, then sharply during the

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Determining social class in the US is a controversial endeavor amongst sociologists. Statistics vary greatly between models, but the

poor comprise around 12 - 40% of the US population, and the working class comprises 30-



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RAISE THAT WAGE

Continued from Page 1

workers. Washington already had the highest state minimum wage in the country, at \$9.32 per hour; however, until this measure passed, one in six Seatac residents lived below the poverty line.

Local unions were integral in organizing Proposition 1, which only affects businesses which employ 30 or more non-managerial employees. An interesting exemption is that companies which hire union workers can continue to pay the previous minimum of \$9.32. This gives big business a tough choice — hire union or give everybody a raise. SeaTac International found its own exemption which was settled in court. The airport is technically a division of the Port of Seattle. Judge Andrea Darvas ruled that its employees are therefore not considered Seatac workers, despite working in Seatac.

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The federal minimum wage is \$7.25 an hour. For salaried workers, the minimum salary is \$455 per week. Five southern states have no minimum wage laws and thus pay the federal amount. Several states including Arkansas, Minnesota and Wyoming have subminimum wage laws— stipulations allowing for exemptions to the federal minimum. Persons with disabilities, young people or employees of small local businesses may be paid as low as \$4.25 an hour. Tipped employees can make as little as \$2.13 an hour. Prisoner-workers are not eligible for minimum wage, and make as little as \$0.23 an hour.

66% of minimum wage workers in the US are employed by large corporations. In a sample of some of the largest employers in the country (including Wal-Mart, Target, IBM, HP and General Electric), 92% were profitable this year and considered recovered from economic recession. Most minimum wage jobs are in service, food,

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics inflation calculator, the minimum wage held the most purchasing power in 1968, equivalent to



approximately \$10.55 currently. After that, it slowly declined during the 70s, then sharply during the 80s, before more or less plateauing to its present buying power.

Living wage is a difficult thing to calculate, since it relies on making assumptions based on needs and lifestyle, as well as highly variable factors such as location. That said, if we take into account not only inflation, but also increases in work output and average consumption, a wage equivalent to 1968 today would be in the range of \$22 - \$25 per hour. This does not take into increases in rent, no doubt the largest expense for most working class people.

States and cities are largely responsible for determining wages, and they vary wildly throughout the country. In California, minimum wage is currently \$8.00 — set to increase to \$9.00 on July 1 and \$10.00 in 2016. This pittance is one of the higher state minimum wages in the US. If a person making the California minimum was paying 30% of their income towards rent for a two bedroom apartment at fair market rate, they would have to work 130 hours a week. There are 168

Determining social class in the US is a controversial endeavor amongst sociologists. Statistics vary greatly between models, but the

poor comprise around 12 - 40% of the US population, and the working class comprises 30-45%. All models seem to agree that the majority of people are below the middle class line. 22% of children live below the poverty line — \$23,550 for a family of four. 45% of children live in low-income families. How many of these children will turn to military enlistment as their ticket out of poverty? How many will become slaves within the prison-industrial complex?

Certainly, fighting for an increase in minimum wages is important, but will never be enough to insure human dignity and end poverty. However, it is a step towards a dramatically better life for many people who, as it is, are understandably weary and in dire need of change. We need to help empower one another to take human rights into our own hands, by sharing information and aiding one another's struggles, whether or not we are perfectly aligned on every ideological point. We need to take the shame and alienation out of poverty, viewing ourselves and one another not as victims in isolation — but participants in a struggle for a life we share together.

THE 'CAN DO' SEX WORKER'S COLLECTIVE

by Kyle Merrit Ludowitz

In Chiang Mai, the northernmost city of Thailand, many restaurants, venues, and bars cater to the carnal pleasures of tourists and locals alike. One bar however, stands out among the others: the *Can Do Bar* is proudly owned and operated by a female collective of empowered sex workers.

Currently employing 20 workers, the *Can Do Bar* provides opportunities for female sex workers rarely ever offered in Thailand's sex industry, such as: payment at (or above) minimum wage, 10 paid holidays, observance of 13 public holidays throughout the year, voluntary overtime at full pay, and paid sick leave. The workers are encouraged to join a union or association, and are given full rights to settle disputes in a labor court, and instant access to contraceptives and other safer sex methods, as well as an educational center on the second floor above the bar.

Can Do Bar was formed by a group of sex workers frustrated with being controlled for profit, who quit or fled their former houses, banded together, and pooled the initial *Baht* needed to start their independent collective. While working along the Myanmar border in northern Thailand, I decided to seek out this collective to experience, and understand this new approach to sex work.

Entering the *Can Do Bar* on a warm fall evening, I get the impression of an intimately friendly den, instead of a booming nightclub; strings of thin, red lights outline the room's frame,

Change Cocktail Party, I interviewed the three women working that evening: Mai, Pae, and Oa. When asked over drinks of Whiskey what message they wanted to convey to other sex workers, their replies were confident.

"The *Can Do Bar* is fair bar" Mai told me simply. "It's fun, and it's enjoyable to be here. It's not always work either. Sometimes we come here when we're not working to dance, and sing with our friends. We also host social events, and fundraisers for our programs, as well as other

Every bar can be like us with enough time, and effort."

There are no exact figures as to the total number of sex workers in Thailand, but a conservative estimate puts the number around 20,000-40,000 women, with a large portion being minors. At this time, sex trafficking places many Thai sex workers in the dangerous positions of forced servitude.

The Empower Foundation is the focal advocate, and co-collaborator of the *Can Do Bar's* undertaking, since its foundation in 2006. An

prostitution in Bangkok), as well as the southern island of Phuket, the town of Mae Sai, and the city of Chiang Mai.

Before leaving the bar, I met with Liz Hilton, a representative for the Empower Foundation, to discuss the *Can Do Bar's* achievements.

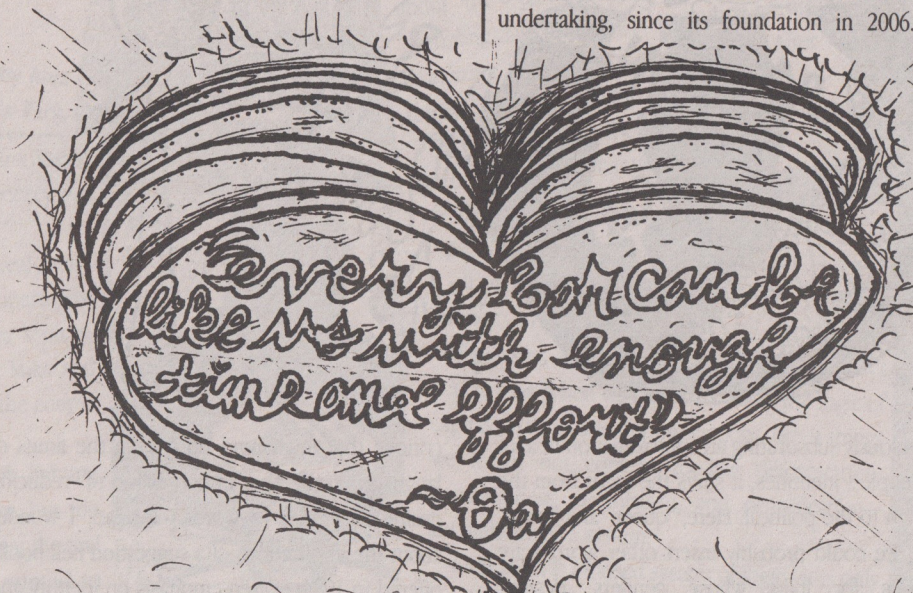
"The Empower Foundation and the *Can Do Bar* were born out of sex worker frustration" Liz explained. "Workers voiced concerns to their government, but with no active response, they decided to pool together in a collective effort to show that their jobs can be done safely and responsibly."

"We recently exceeded a global population of 7 billion people," Liz continued. "That means there have been at least 7 billion sexual acts. The global community does not seem to have a problem with this fact, and regards sex as a natural, private, and personal act. That is, until money comes into the equation."

Liz continues, "Women have a right to do whatever they choose with their lives, and should be given autonomy to proceed in a positive way. That is what we are doing here. That is what the women of the *Can Do Bar* are doing."

With thousands of women involved in Thailand's sex industry, the struggle to secure fair wages, the necessities of education, medical care, and access to contraceptives is an immense task. The thousands of workers denied these essentials each day urgently need change to this system.

Leaving the bar, and looking back at the lights



organizations we agree with, and want to help support."

Pae explained that the bar is not merely a place for people to find sex, but that it is a space for organizers and friends of the movement.

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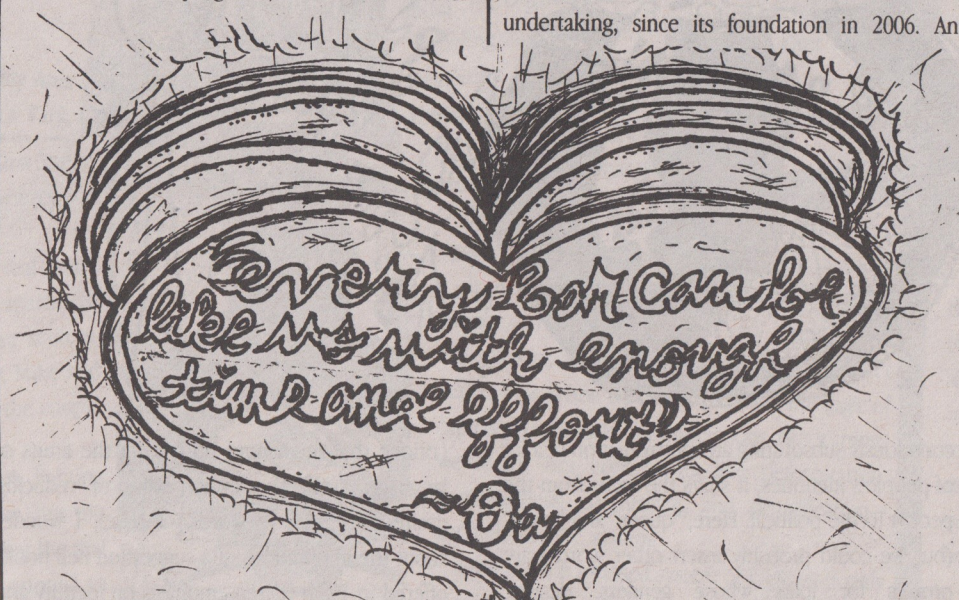
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Entering the *Can Do Bar* on a warm fall evening, I get the impression of an intimately friendly den, instead of a booming nightclub; stings of thin, red lights outline the room's frame, casting a soft, warm glow across the bar's dark colored wood, and over the floor to the tables in the far corners. A staircase, with a large centerpiece photograph of a client in the midst of a sponge-bath, wraps around to the second and third floors with bedrooms, and the education center.

Visiting the night before the bar's large *Climate*

when we're not working to dance, and sing with our friends. We also host social events, and fundraisers for our programs, as well as other



organizations we agree with, and want to help support."

Pae explained that the bar is not merely a place for people to find sex, but that it is a space for organizers, and friends of the movement to spread awareness about sex worker cooperatives. "Sex workers can open their own business, be their own boss, and take care of themselves," Pae said.

Oa expressed, "We can work, be artists [sex work as an act of art], and be safe all at the same time. We live here, and work in good conditions.

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The Empower Foundation is the focal advocate, and co-collaborator of the *Can Do Bar's* undertaking, since its foundation in 2006. An

organization of predominately third-wave feminists from Western countries, Empower Foundation strives to build women's confidence so they have a stronger foundation to express their preferences and assert their rights. The Empower Foundation views education and literacy as a fundamental part of building confidence, and it provides educational programs to over 30,000 sex workers throughout Thailand, many of whom are receiving education for the first time in their lives. They host classroom style education sessions in Phatpong Alley (a center of

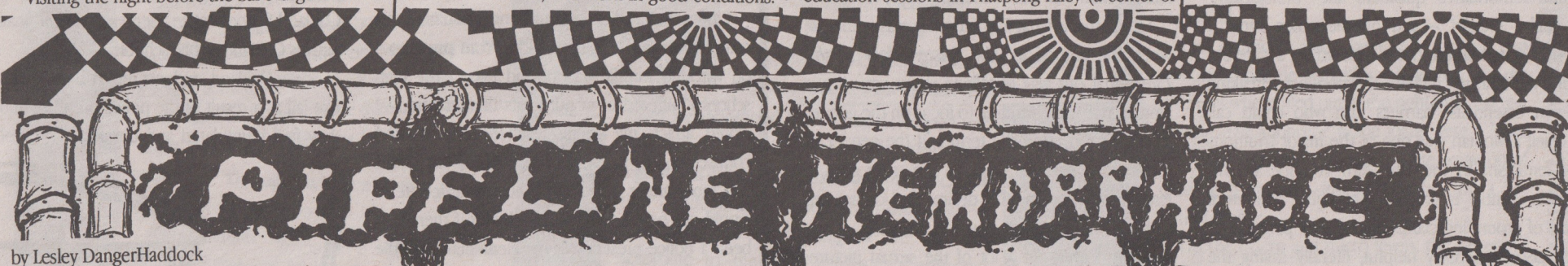
explained. "Workers voiced concerns to their government, but with no active response, they decided to pool together in a collective effort to show that their jobs can be done safely and responsibly."

"We recently exceeded a global population of 7 billion people," Liz continued. "That means there have been at least 7 billion sexual acts. The global community does not seem to have a problem with this fact, and regards sex as a natural, private, and personal act. That is, until money comes into the equation."

Liz continues, "Women have a right to do whatever they choose with their lives, and should be given autonomy to proceed in a positive way. That is what we are doing here. That is what the women of the *Can Do Bar* are doing."

With thousands of women involved in Thailand's sex industry, the struggle to secure fair wages, the necessities of education, medical care, and access to contraceptives is an immense task. The thousands of workers denied these essentials each day urgently need change to this system.

Leaving the bar, and looking back at the lights illuminating the painted *Can Do* sign, I am inspired by these women's stories, and by seeing what can be accomplished when determined individuals organize. By working together as a collective to empower sex workers, the *Can Do Bar* shows us the true strength of women when they claim their workplace and sexual rights, and define their own future.



by Lesley DangerHaddock

All over the world people have been demonstrating against the Keystone XL pipeline, the massive oil pipeline that would send 800,000 barrels of oil per day from Alberta, Canada to Texas. The pipeline would likely spur further

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In Moscow, Idaho, we've talked with organizers who have been working upstream of the tar sands fighting shipments of megaloads, massive machinery used for tar sands exploitation, through Idaho. For many local activists, the idea

East pipeline being constructed by TransCanada. This pipeline is set to open in 2018 and would ship a record-breaking 1.1 billion barrels of tar sands per day.

Keystone XL is tremendously important, but so

the far corners. A staircase, with a large centerpiece photograph of a client in the midst of a sponge-bath, wraps around to the second and third floors with bedrooms, and the education center.

Visiting the night before the bar's large *Climate*

workers can open their own business, be their own boss, and take care of themselves," Pae said.

Oa expressed, "We can work, be artists [sex work as an act of art], and be safe all at the same time. We live here, and work in good conditions.

literacy as a fundamental part of building confidence, and it provides educational programs to over 30,000 sex workers throughout Thailand, many of whom are receiving education for the first time in their lives. They host classroom style education sessions in Phatpong Alley (a center of

what can be accomplished when determined individuals organize. By working together as a collective to empower sex workers, the *Can Do Bar* shows us the true strength of women when they claim their workplace and sexual rights, and define their own future.



by Lesley DangerHaddock

All over the world people have been demonstrating against the Keystone XL pipeline, the massive oil pipeline that would send 800,000 barrels of oil per day from Alberta, Canada to Texas. The pipeline would likely spur further development of the Alberta Tar Sands, the largest fossil fuel project in the world that has led to extensive deforestation, water pollution, and violations of indigenous sovereignty, as well as massive contributions to climate change. Keystone XL has been the Keystone issue for many environmental activists.

Matthew and I left on a hitchhiking adventure intending to cover the resistance to the Keystone XL pipeline by following the pipeline the full 1,700 miles. But, as we have talked to activists along the way, we have found that while resistance to the Keystone XL pipeline has brought a lot of needed attention to the detrimental tar sands project, it can also overshadow the equally crucial efforts being made to stop fossil fuel shipment and extraction by local communities.

Before we left we talked to activists in Pittsburg, CA who have been fighting hard against the construction of oil terminals that would receive tar sands shipments by truck and rail, as well as organizers in Richmond, CA who for decades have opposed the Chevron refinery that has been detrimental to the city's health. As activists in San Francisco locked down the federal building in protest of KXL, the fight against extraction is immediate and personal for local organizers just across the bay.

Our travels thus far have taken us up to Oregon, Washington, and over to Idaho, and organizers there have had similar experiences. In Vancouver, WA we talked to Cager Carbaugh, the president of the ILWU local 4, who has been working with Portland Rising Tide to oppose oil terminals being built in their port. For Cager and the longshoremen, working with volatile oil shipments from the tar sands is a threat to worker safety, and the risk of an oil spill would put their ability to work on the Columbia river at stake.

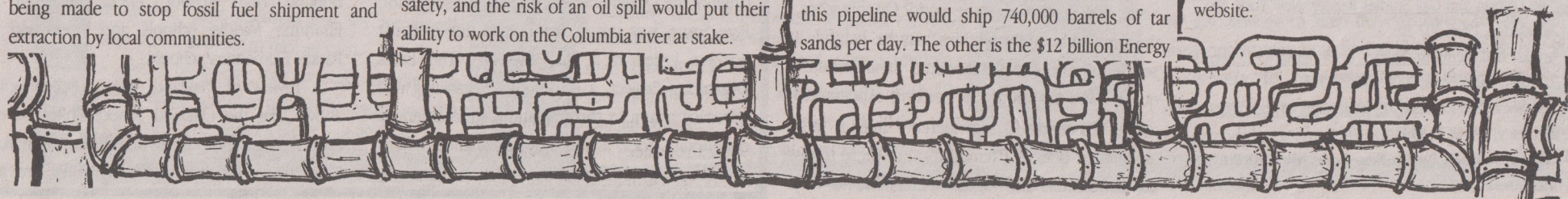
In Moscow, Idaho, we've talked with organizers who have been working upstream of the tar sands fighting shipments of megaloads, massive machinery used for tar sands exploitation, through Idaho. For many local activists, the idea of turning their wild state into a permanent industrial corridor is an outrage. Helen Yost, organizer with Wild Idaho Rising Tide, explicitly told us that the focus on Keystone XL has been a huge barrier, saying that people have been climbing over each other to get arrested protesting the pipeline while ignoring the megaload shipments rolling straight through their towns.

Further, while Keystone XL is absolutely gigantic, there are actually two other pipelines of similar size in the works that, if built, could double tar sands exploitation. The first of these is the \$7 billion Line 3 Replacement pipeline project brought to us by Enbridge. Set to open in 2017, this pipeline would ship 740,000 barrels of tar sands per day. The other is the \$12 billion Energy

East pipeline being constructed by TransCanada. This pipeline is set to open in 2018 and would ship a record-breaking 1.1 billion barrels of tar sands per day.

Keystone XL is tremendously important, but so are the other fossil fuel projects popping up all over North America. With fracking going on in more and more states, the Bakken Shale exploitation in North Dakota, Mountain Top Removal in West Virginia, oil spills happening nearly every week, tar sands exploitation starting in Utah, we can't afford to focus only on KXL. We have to fight extraction at every level, and look at the work being done in our own communities first.

You can follow our work online at fuelingdissent.org or on Facebook at facebook.com/fuelingdissent. If you have any way to contribute, we need money for food and equipment and you can donate to us through our website.



Alphabet Soup

some thoughts on the
Acronym and Identity
Politics

Continued from Page 1

terms like trans-spirit, demisexual, biromantic, etc. While I've had to explain what I mean by Queer to more than one relative and doctor, I can generally assume (at least in the Bay Area) that most folks will understand what that means. Since I can sometimes pass as straight – especially when I need to, in this heterosexist world – focusing on identity foregrounds an aspect of myself that, unlike whiteness, male-legibility, and able-bodiedness, might remain

being” makes the point well [*Imitation and Gender Insubordination*, emphasis mine].)

On the other hand, there seems to be some push-back among folks who'd just as soon give up the identity game in favor of a short and manageable description like, “the queer and trans community.” This approach has an obvious problem: it sacrifices some identities while privileging others, contributing to the invisibility of those who don't feel any resonance with these terms. But maybe that's the point: by self-

different for different folks – and for a good reason: it doesn't help anyone to police a right or wrong way of being butch, queer, etc.

In pointing this out, I'm not suggesting that the solution is to further expand the taxonomy, adding more identities in a never-ending search for total descriptive perfection, which might only lead to a more atomized culture. (Though I think there's a pretty radical argument to be made for proliferating identities so infinitely that the concept stops meaning anything altogether – a

the phrase ‘I am a feminist’ (a linguistic structure designed to refer to some personal aspect of identity and self-definition) and could state, ‘I advocate feminism.’” (*Feminist Theory from Margin to Center*, 30-1). This proposal fits gender and sexuality awkwardly at best: one isn't necessarily *advocating* anything when one comes out as this or that. But I think that's exactly the point! Maybe identity is ill-suited to politics to begin with.

That's not say to that we should discard identity-talk altogether: I don't think we could if we wanted to, and, again, identity has proven itself to be a helpful tool for figuring ourselves out, socializing, countering oppressive externally-imposed descriptions, and more. These are all definitely important functions, but maybe they're more helpful for forming a personal bedrock for politics than for praxis itself. hooks' suggestion makes me wonder: What if we focused less on who's under the acronym-umbrella (acrobrella?), and more on fighting sexuality- and gender-based oppression? Less on who people are, and more on what they advocate, what they'll fight for? Doing so might allow us to focus on issues that have been overlooked as “not queer/trans enough.” It might also help us to see how heterosexism and transphobia actually hurt straight and/or cis people, too; after all, these too can be fragile, contingent identities. (To give just one example, “straightness” often comes at the cost of having to constantly shore up one's identity through self-policing and public disavowals like “no homo.”) Most important, we might see how those not under – or excluded from – the acronym have a stake in the movement, too.



invisible. It also probably increases the likelihood of striking up a conversation, making out with somebody, etc., when around others whose queerness is similarly visible. At the same time, as Julia Serano argues in her recent book *Excluded* (reviewed in this issue), foregrounding queerness as an identity can also be insular and clique-ish, in ways that I'm just starting to think about.

All this business about identity makes a lot of

consciously substituting an approximation of a lot of people's identities, it shifts the focus from the person to the political. Here, “queer” and “trans” (but we could probably insert other words) are proxies for folks whose genders, desires, practices, etc. expose them to oppression. The people who feel represented by it, like myself, might see in it less a mirror than a shared politics. What it loses in apparent inclusion, it gains in

critique that might end up tracing the limits of language itself, the impossibility of reducing desire or gender to words.) Instead, I wonder about the implications of a suggestion bell hooks offered in 1984: “Often emphasis on identity and lifestyle is appealing because it creates a false sense that one is engaged in praxis... To emphasize the engagement with feminist struggle as political commitment, we could avoid using

What it loses in apparent inclusion, it gains in accessibility and recognition. It pushes us outward, proposing other axis for connection and intimacy. It suggests, critically, that our shared identity may not be as fertile a ground for collaboration as we thought, that identity might turn out to be a poor predictor of politics. (I often find more common ground with straight radicals than with queer liberals.)

All this business about identity makes a lot of sense to me. When you're told -- by doctors, by family, by psychiatrists, by teachers, by politicians -- that you're one thing and you feel like you're another thing, it's powerful to say, "You say I am this thing, but I identify as this other thing. (PS: fuck you)." It sets up an opposition between the world of descriptions by those in power, often with authoritative qualifiers like "biologically," "legally," "really" -- and on the other hand, a world of self-descriptions, focused on a different kind of authority: individual experience. Breaking down essentialist barriers into who could call herself a woman was one of the major triumphs of feminism in the late 20th century. In this sense, identity is political, proposing a different way of grounding claims about what people are. It's also immensely helpful, literally saving the lives of folks (especially youth) who are going through the process of finding something affirming and communal to latch onto in a hostile, straight society. And yet, the emphasis on *identity* seems to have already conceded part of the battle. If those with the prescription pads and guns get to use the verb "to be" -- to say what stuff in the world *is* -- why do we hedge our bets with "identify as"? (Here's a hunch: I think folks are worried that describing themselves as e.g., "*being trans*" commits oneself to too much permanence, denying the fluidity and change that identity is supposed to allow. If this is true, it's unnecessary; "I'm lesbian" doesn't need to mean anything more fixed than the fact that I'm hungry right now. Though a little awkward, Judith Butler's statement, "a lesbian is what I've *been*

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I think this is what Eve Sedgwick was getting at when she argued in *The Epistemology of the Closet* that our way of talking about sexuality is limited, our terms tending to focus on the gender of the person using the term and the gender of their sexual partners (e.g., so the story goes, a lesbian is a woman who desires and/or has sex with women). This way of thinking about sexuality leaves out a lot of the sexual picture:

"What is gained and what is lost in the struggle for acronym status, and in the focus on identity that it requires?"

What kinds of sex do people have? Do they practice good consent? Do they have sex in exchange for money or other goods? Do they talk with their partners about STIs? Do they film themselves fucking? What sexual politics do they have? How do they view the world? On this score, the proliferation of identities may be helpful: a self-description like "cisgendered feminist butch queen" tells me about this person's exposure to gender discourse ("cisgendered") and a little about their politics ("feminist"). But these terms are also flexible and vague -- "butch" looks very

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EXPEL THE

By Alec

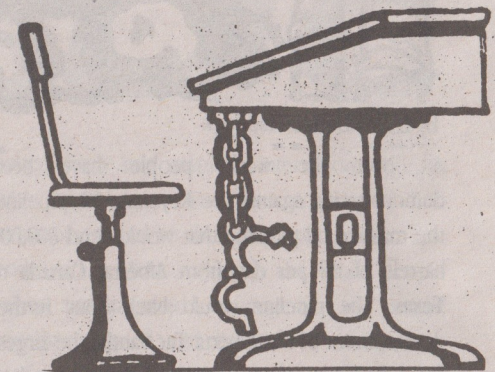
I am a senior in college awaiting graduation this summer. I was a violent child. From pre-school on through middle school and even early high school I suffered from outbursts of aggression. I would attack my peers, teachers, parents and counselors; anyone who came into my vicinity. I had more anger than I knew how to articulate. I would not be on this successful path if there had been a police presence in my elementary, middle or high school.

The Oakland Unified School District employs six times as many police and security officers to patrol the schools as they have counselors for students. There were 36,180 students, 2,008 teachers, 115 police and security officers, and 20 counselors during the 2012-3 academic year. Black youth in Oakland are being targeted by police, arrested and referred to probation at two and a half times their percentage of the population. Black youth make up around thirty percent of the youth population in Oakland but eighty percent of youth who are arrested are black.

Raheim Brown was sitting in the passenger seat of a parked car outside of a school dance when he was shot by a school police officer in January 2011. The officer claimed that Raheim attempted to stab him with a screwdriver. The Oakland School District failed to take any action against the officer, Sgt. Barhin Bhatt, who was later made Interim Chief of the Oakland School Police. His successor, Pete Sarna, was put on paid leave due to racist epithets yelled at a black officer. The Black Organizing Project, a community organizing and advocacy group in the Oakland African-American community, took action against Raheim's killer's promotion and Barhin Bhatt was replaced by

James Williams, the current Interim Chief of the Oakland School Police. Sergeant Barhin Bhatt still patrols Oakland public schools.

Some Oakland students report that school feels like jail as a result of the police presence and that they feel intimidated and unsafe. They feel that



the money spent on policing would be better spent providing more opportunities for student work and recreation, keeping them safe by keeping them occupied. Teachers are underpaid and overworked and ten percent of students exhibit chronic absence. A survey conducted by the Black Organizing Project found that sixty-four percent of Oakland public school students don't like the police presence in their schools and feel that they could have safe schools without police.

In 2012, the Oakland Unified School District, citing exhaustion and conflicting demands, hired 25 extra police and security officers to patrol Ralph Bunche High school, Frick, Roosevelt and Elmhurst Middle schools and Lockwood and Parker Elementary schools.

A review of Oakland School Police policies shows that the Oakland School Police have no special training or criteria for dealing with youth. They treat students as though they are adult

– that you're one thing and you feel like you're another thing, it's powerful to say, "You say I am this thing, but I identify as this other thing. (PS: fuck you)." It sets up an opposition between the world of descriptions by those in power, often with authoritative qualifiers like "biologically," "legally," "really" -- and on the other hand, a world of self-descriptions, focused on a different kind of authority: individual experience. Breaking down essentialist barriers into who could call herself a woman was one of the major triumphs of feminism in the late 20th century. In this sense, identity is political, proposing a different way of grounding claims about what people are. It's also immensely helpful, literally saving the lives of folks (especially youth) who are going through the process of finding something affirming and communal to latch onto in a hostile, straight society. And yet, the emphasis on *identity* seems to have already conceded part of the battle. If those with the prescription pads and guns get to use the verb "to be" -- to say what stuff in the world *is* -- why do we hedge our bets with "identify as"? (Here's a hunch: I think folks are worried that describing themselves as e.g., "*being trans*" commits oneself to too much permanence, denying the fluidity and change that identity is supposed to allow. If this is true, it's unnecessary; "I'm lesbian" doesn't need to mean anything more fixed than the fact that I'm hungry right now. Though a little awkward, Judith Butler's statement, "a lesbian is what I've *been*

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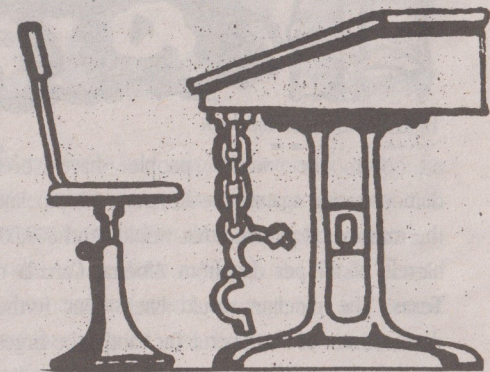
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STORIES ARE MAGIC

RESIST THE POVERTY OF FAUX COMMUNITY

By Kermit

A karass - a group of people linked in a cosmically significant manner, even when superficial links are not evident.

A granfalloon - a group of people who affect a shared identity or purpose, but whose mutual association is actually meaningless. A false karass.
(Kurt Vonnegut, *Cat's Cradle*, 1963)

Even if you believe that we live in a godless and rational universe governed by physical laws, it is difficult to deny that language is a kind of magic. Through language, we perceive, interpret, and create the stories that frame our understanding of what is possible and fuse meaning onto our lives. Some of these stories break like waves, spectacular and momentary, over the surface of our existence while others are more subtle but longer lasting. They can take the form of fiction, history, science, or conventional wisdom and all of them claim some relationship to physical or emotional truths. As they are told and retold, stories account for and explain the immense variety of lived human experience.

Over time, some of these stories become layered on top of one another and are replaced in everyday thought and speech with a kind of shorthand; a few words or phrases which stand in for complex experiences or insights. This is useful so that we don't have to pull out a lyre and spend several hours singing the song of ourselves every time we meet someone, but it also lets us live in the illusion that if we use the same code words and root for the same sports team (or broad political tendency), then our ideas are basically

Becoming intimate with someone is a process of unpacking some of the stories that have shaped us and being vulnerable enough to sing them to each other. This intimate sharing thickens the connections between people and contributes to the sense that you and I are part of a rhizomatic social cluster that is palpable and significant. The extent to which a claim of community feels

connection, but they also become particularly weak and ugly when their objective rationality is questioned.

The stories that create granfalloons depend on an illusion of unity and when that is broken, as it inevitably is, the first response is often to try to salvage the grand narrative at all costs. Frequently this means treating critical voices as enemies and

Relationship-scale communities are stronger when they are composed of people with diverse constitutions and opinions, including those who are willing to pick fights with orthodoxies. If we shut down without attempting to understand another person's criticism when it calls our particular orthodoxy into question we miss



meaningful to me depends, in large part, on whether or not the people in it are linked

open conflict as a crisis necessitating the ejection of people from our social world. This is

opportunities to complicate and enrich the stories we are telling.

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COPS!

criminals, arresting them for minor infractions without regard to the problems they may be dealing with in their lives. No school counselors have been hired by the Oakland School District in recent history.

The police are interfering with children's lives at their most delicate stages of development. I understand fears about gun violence and bullying in schools as well as drug use, but teachers and counselors are trained to deal with kids whereas police are not. Sometimes all a kid needs is the proof that some people care about them in order to make a positive contribution to her community.

Oakland students are not getting the opportunities I had: once they get into trouble with their school, they get into trouble with the law and face juvenile detention and court appearances. Studies show that an arrest at a young age doubles the student's chances at being pushed out of high school and a court appearance quadruples those chances.

Oakland School police data reveals that forty nine percent of contact the police make with students is for non-criminal behavior such as classroom disruption. Even the brightest and most talented of our children are known to screw up at some point in their development. By subjecting them to arrests in their schools we are nullifying their chances at success. Involvement with the juvenile justice system makes youth far less likely to obtain future employment, go to college or even graduate from high school.

The information for this report was drawn from the Black Organizing Project's Report, "From Report Card To Criminal Record, the Impact of Policing on Oakland Youth" and from the Oakland Unified School District website.

whether or not the people in it are linked together with intimate bonds - not necessarily on whether they share an aesthetic, set of judgments, common history, or way of speaking.

The poverty of political stories

The problem with most political discourse is that it tends to emphasize the sameness of our shorthand, rather than the complexity of our individual songs. Politicians are primarily concerned with telling stories that promote orthodoxy and conversion - those which can be bent to the service of convincing people to think the right way. This can even be true when their code words include 'autonomy' and when they are overtly critical of the orthodoxy and conversion tactics of others. Over time, it can become easy for those of us who are moved by political rhetoric to slowly, and at times unwittingly, replace a complex understanding of reality and our ambiguous emotional responses to it with clear moral distinctions and strongly held beliefs that feel like party lines.

One effect of this is that people tend to assume that they are members of much larger coherent communities than are actually possible. All of the grand lies of nationalism (whether or not they are attached to states) are based on the assumption that we are very much the same as thousands, or perhaps millions of other people who happen to share a similar quality, belief, heritage, or aesthetic. There is a comfort that comes from this because it simplifies the world and numbs our awareness of the poverty that can exist in everyday life, but it also distracts us from deeper and more thorough lines of inquiry and limits our ability to imagine other possibilities.

In *Cat's Cradle*, Kurt Vonnegut invents a word to describe this type of faux-community. A granfalloon is an imagined community not built on actual connections between people, but on the mistaken assumption that some superficial similarity is significant in a way that overrides factors of personality, context, or circumstance. Granfalloons are always false and often harmful because they misrepresent the nature of human

of people from our social worlds. This has historically been true whenever the narrative underpinnings of states, religions, and other centers of authority have been challenged.

Unfortunately, radical communities and revolutionary moments are particularly prone to this kind of reactionary response. Do not misunderstand, there are good reasons to be defensive and protective of our actual intimate networks, but when radicals seek to silence dissent within large scale 'communities' held together by the thinnest of justifications for the

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sake of abstract ideals, we mimic the mechanisms of the powerful systems we claim to abhor.

This silencing of critique is particularly troubling. I tend to be more of a mediator when confronted with people or ideas that are in conflict and the skills I sometimes have to smooth things over have been very useful. Despite this - or perhaps because of it - I highly value the presence of strong, critical voices in my social world, voices that force me to look closely at my assumptions and sit uncomfortably in my skin rather than seek easy resolutions and comfortable answers.

we are telling

The power to re-enchant our worlds

What I am struck by most, however, when I think about this stuff is the incredible power we all have to shape our understanding of the world. The more aware we are of the inevitable process of narrative co-creation and manipulation inherent in knowing, the more able we are to take responsibility for composing and editing the stories we choose to believe in. The more willingly we accept this responsibility, the more possible it seems to create meaning and purpose for our lives in ways unrelated to received authority or the simplistic rejection of received authority.

Stories which obscure our awareness of our own creative power only serve to strengthen calcified channels of systemic power by encouraging us to submit to narratives we have not shaped. Creating spaces in the world to interact with each other and pursue our passions outside of those systems must involve embracing our own power as story-tellers.

The stories we create are a part of this but they do not exist in a vacuum. Instead, they rub up against one another and are judged by how true they appear in light of other stories we have already accepted. In this way we determine if new stories relate to our established narrative reality or not. Recognizing this process can allow us to more easily focus on and move toward goals that we have shaped ourselves based on our own understanding of reality and our desire to interact with it.

Making people aware of the creative magic inherent in language and storytelling and the extent to which we are connected through the stories we share with each other is, in a way, about re-enchanting the world. To enchant something is, quite literally, to fill it with song. An enchanted world is one that has been sung into existence. The way to understand it is through song and story and myth. This is an inherently subjective process which is, of necessity, recreated every time a story is told.

COPS!

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The poverty of political stories

The problem with most political discourse is that it tends to emphasize the sameness of our shorthand, rather than the complexity of our individual songs. Politicians are primarily concerned with telling stories that promote orthodoxy and conversion - those which can be bent to the service of convincing people to think the right way. This can even be true when their code words include 'autonomy' and when they are overtly critical of the orthodoxy and conversion tactics of others. Over time, it can become easy for those of us who are moved by political rhetoric to slowly, and at times unwittingly, replace a complex understanding of reality and our ambiguous emotional responses to it with clear moral distinctions and strongly held beliefs that feel like party lines.

One effect of this is that people tend to assume that they are members of much larger coherent communities than are actually possible. All of the grand lies of nationalism (whether or not they are attached to states) are based on the assumption that we are very much the same as thousands, or perhaps millions of other people who happen to share a similar quality, belief, heritage, or aesthetic. There is a comfort that comes from this because it simplifies the world and numbs our awareness of the poverty that can exist in everyday life, but it also distracts us from deeper and more thorough lines of inquiry and limits our ability to imagine other possibilities.

In *Cat's Cradle*, Kurt Vonnegut invents a word to describe this type of faux-community. A granfalloon is an imagined community not built on actual connections between people, but on the mistaken assumption that some superficial similarity is significant in a way that overrides factors of personality, context, or circumstance. Granfalloons are always false and often harmful because they misrepresent the nature of human

centers of authority have been challenged.

Unfortunately, radical communities and revolutionary moments are particularly prone to this kind of reactionary response. Do not misunderstand, there are good reasons to be defensive and protective of our actual intimate networks, but when radicals seek to silence dissent within large scale 'communities' held together by the thinnest of justifications for the

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sake of abstract ideals, we mimic the mechanisms of the powerful systems we claim to abhor.

This silencing of critique is particularly troubling. I tend to be more of a mediator when confronted with people or ideas that are in conflict and the skills I sometimes have to smooth things over have been very useful. Despite this - or perhaps because of it - I highly value the presence of strong, critical voices in my social world, voices that force me to look closely at my assumptions and sit uncomfortably in my skin rather than seek easy resolutions and comfortable answers.

what I am stuck by most, however, when I think about this stuff is the incredible power we all have to shape our understanding of the world. The more aware we are of the inevitable process of narrative co-creation and manipulation inherent in knowing, the more able we are to take responsibility for composing and editing the stories we choose to believe in. The more willingly we accept this responsibility, the more possible it seems to create meaning and purpose for our lives in ways unrelated to received authority or the simplistic rejection of received authority.

Stories which obscure our awareness of our own creative power only serve to strengthen calcified channels of systemic power by encouraging us to submit to narratives we have not shaped. Creating spaces in the world to interact with each other and pursue our passions outside of those systems must involve embracing our own power as story-tellers.

The stories we create are a part of this but they do not exist in a vacuum. Instead, they rub up against one another and are judged by how true they appear in light of other stories we have already accepted. In this way we determine if new stories relate to our established narrative reality or not. Recognizing this process can allow us to more easily focus on and move toward goals that we have shaped ourselves based on our own understanding of reality and our desire to interact with it.

Making people aware of the creative magic inherent in language and storytelling and the extent to which we are connected through the stories we share with each other is, in a way, about re-enchanting the world. To enchant something is, quite literally, to fill it with song. An enchanted world is one that has been sung into existence. The way to understand it is through song and story and myth. This is an inherently subjective process which is, of necessity, recreated every time a story is told.

COLD SAN FRANCISCO NIGHTS

HOME, HOUSING AND GENTRIFICATION

By Tommi Aviccoli Mecca

These days, Tony Bennett wouldn't be leaving his heart in San Francisco. He'd be leaving his apartment and friends because he got priced out of the city. Or evicted by some speculator looking to make a mint off his beautiful Victorian flat.

Scott McKenzie would simply be telling folks *not* to come to San Francisco unless you work for the tech industry and can afford more than a flower in your hair.

Times have certainly changed for the city that gave the world the Summer of Love and North Beach beatniks, not to mention wonderfully diverse ethnic neighborhoods and a refuge for LGBT folks escaping the horror that still is the heterosexual nuclear (as in toxic) family in this country. Pure unadulterated greed is destroying the heart and the soul of the rebel city that has always welcomed the underdog.

Rents are now the highest in the country. In the working-class Mission district, home to a large immigrant Latino population and scores of artists and political activists, a lovely two-bedroom condo can be rented for \$10,500 a month. In the still gay (but becoming straighter by the day) Castro where I live, there are \$8,000 rentals above a brand new Whole Foods, proving once again that in America, healthy food is only for the wealthy. Poorer neighborhoods don't even have supermarkets, only corner stores that soak them for the basics.

A recent report from the Brookings Institute in Washington shows that the city isn't just the most expensive place to live, it's also the municipality with the fastest growing income gap between rich and poor. The Institute's results are based on income reported in the 2012 Census. The tech boom has climbed a chunk of degrees higher

Already, a large part of the city's work force, including teachers and fire fighters, have been forced to live outside San Francisco. Public transportation to the East Bay is expensive. Within the city it's simply a nightmare. Google and other company buses create congestion and delays by using MUNI stops (and pay only \$1 a stop for the privilege). Their fines go unpaid because of a nod and a wink from city officials.

Meanwhile, Mayor Ed Lee has proposed 30,000 new units of housing, but only one-third of them will be for those who are low-income. The rest will go to the middle-income. With 7,000-8,000 homeless on the streets and low-income housing waiting lists in the tens of thousands, you'd think that those without housing and those on the lists would get first dibs when the apartments are built.

Forget it. Lee's mantra these days is "housing for the 100%." Meaning that he's just as concerned about households making \$353,576 as those earning minimum wage.

These days, cardboard boxes and jails are the new housing for the poor in "progressive" San Francisco where anti-panhandling and sit/lie laws easily keep the homeless out of sight and out of mind. I honestly have never seen things so bad.

I was born in 1951 in a poor immigrant Italian neighborhood in South Philly. My grandfather came here, like his paesani from il mezzogiorno (southern Italy), with the idea that the streets were paved with gold. Wrong. They were paved

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I also helped set up three shelters for homeless queer youth, a free meals program and a place for homeless persons in the Castro and Mission to shower. These days, queer youth make up 40% of the homeless youth population in the city. According to the city's homeless count, 29% are LGBT and 3% identify as transgender.

Things looked dire back then, but who knew they could get so much worse? Far worse. City-wide economic cleansing. Soon, there will only be extremely wealthy and extremely poor people in the city. Our wonderful diversity will be erased. Already, the African American population has been reduced to 6%. In no time at all, if the

out single mothers with children or people living on SSI. Under capitalism, housing is a commodity rather than an essential human need, as is healthcare and food, two other human needs that are reduced to mere commodities.

Unfortunately, there's no magic bullet to turn all this around, short of ending capitalism and making housing a guaranteed right, something that isn't likely to happen anytime soon. However, there are ways to hopefully provide some relief.

We've got to take as much of the land off the market as we can so that it can't be speculated on and doesn't contribute to gentrification. Using models like the Community Land Trust (CLT), we can turn apartment buildings into coops where the existing tenants pay 30% or less of their income on rent, and no one gets displaced. The CLT maintains the mortgage on the land, the tenants in the building make the rules and manage the property. The CLT helps train people on how to live cooperatively, and how to take control of their own lives.

Whole neighborhoods or sections of a city can become CLTs. Dudley Street Land Trust in Boston is the best example. A poor African American community with empty lots that were being used as dumping grounds by people from throughout the city, transformed itself through a CLT. Funding was brought in from outside to help the community build itself up from within.

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According to the Institute's study, households earning 95% of AMI (Area Median Income) bring home about \$353,576 which is 16.6 times more than those making 20% of AMI which is around minimum wage or \$21,313. We may be living in lean times, but the cats at the top are not feeling any hunger pangs.

Income disparity is not the only thing rising astronomically. So are evictions. Now the highest in at least a decade, they are mainly the work of speculators and investors from far and wide cashing in on a sizzling housing market that shows no signs of cooling down, a housing market fueled by thousands of tech workers to the south of here wanting to call San Francisco home. While politicians scramble to introduce legislation to curb the displacement of longtime residents, larger and larger buildings are being cleared of rent-controlled tenants paying lower rents in favor of those who can fork out the ridiculous amounts being demanded for a roof over their heads.

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I was born in 1951 in a poor immigrant Italian neighborhood in South Philly. My grandfather came here, like his paesani from il mezzogiorno (southern Italy), with the idea that the streets were paved with gold. Wrong. They were paved with the blood, sweat and tears of men like him who worked for next to nothing and were told over and over again that they weren't welcome. The Statue of Liberty had a message for them: huddled masses of dagos and wops go home.

Working six, sometimes seven days a week, Papa made it into the working class, with a house and a car and a small amount of comfort. But not before we were booted out of our neighborhood and the house where I grew up was torn down and "redeveloped." There went the neighborhood -- to the more upscale folks, the yuppies of that decade.

I left Philly in 1991 and moved to San Francisco's Castro District. I was there when the dot-com boom hit the city like a tornado, causing rents -- and evictions -- to skyrocket. I helped organize the Castro Tenants' Union to stop long-term tenants with AIDS from being evicted in my neighborhood. We worked with the Mission Anti-Displacement Coalition and other groups that wanted an end to the speculation and displacement and community control of our neighborhoods.

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We need to take back our housing and our communities. The only way to do that is to take back the land. No one owns the earth. Capitalist society slices it up like a pie and gives people deeds to each piece. Speculators and investors buy up many pieces of this pie and flip them, especially when the market is hot, emptying them of tenants and walking away with huge profits. It doesn't matter if the tenant is a 97-year-old woman or a gay senior with AIDS. The ends, making lots of dough, justify the means, tossing

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EVICTIION WARRANT ~ ANTI-SQUATTING BILL THREATEN

By Steven DeCaprio

Over a decade ago I started squatting in California because of personal housing dilemmas. While seeking housing I realized that we could never build a stable movement without creating stable housing for organizers. Because of this I started the organization Land Action to help others establish squats in order to expand the circle as well as our capacity to organize. Squatting can provide an opportunity to escape the wage/rent treadmill, and it also prevents greedy speculators from getting their hands on abandoned properties. Because of this, squatters are in a constant state of struggle fighting against these land grabs. Unfortunately a new threat has emerged in the California State Assembly; a bill called AB1513.

The first draft of the bill created a new law that made squatting a felony. The new language of the bill allows a property owner to sign a document called an "Unauthorized Occupant Declaration" and demand that cops remove people from their homes based upon the owner's declaration that they are trespassers. The cops are required under AB 1513 to treat the owner's own written declaration as if it were a court ordered eviction. Thus AB 1513 gives property owners the power of the courts to evict anyone, at will, without any process.

Landlords already call the cops on their tenants and accuse them of trespassing all the time. Usually the cops don't get involved in these disputes. However this bill gives property owners unprecedented power to remove anyone from

their properties, and not even the cops can refuse to evict if there is a written request. Anyone with any common sense should realize that by giving landlords this type of power they will be guaranteed to abuse it.

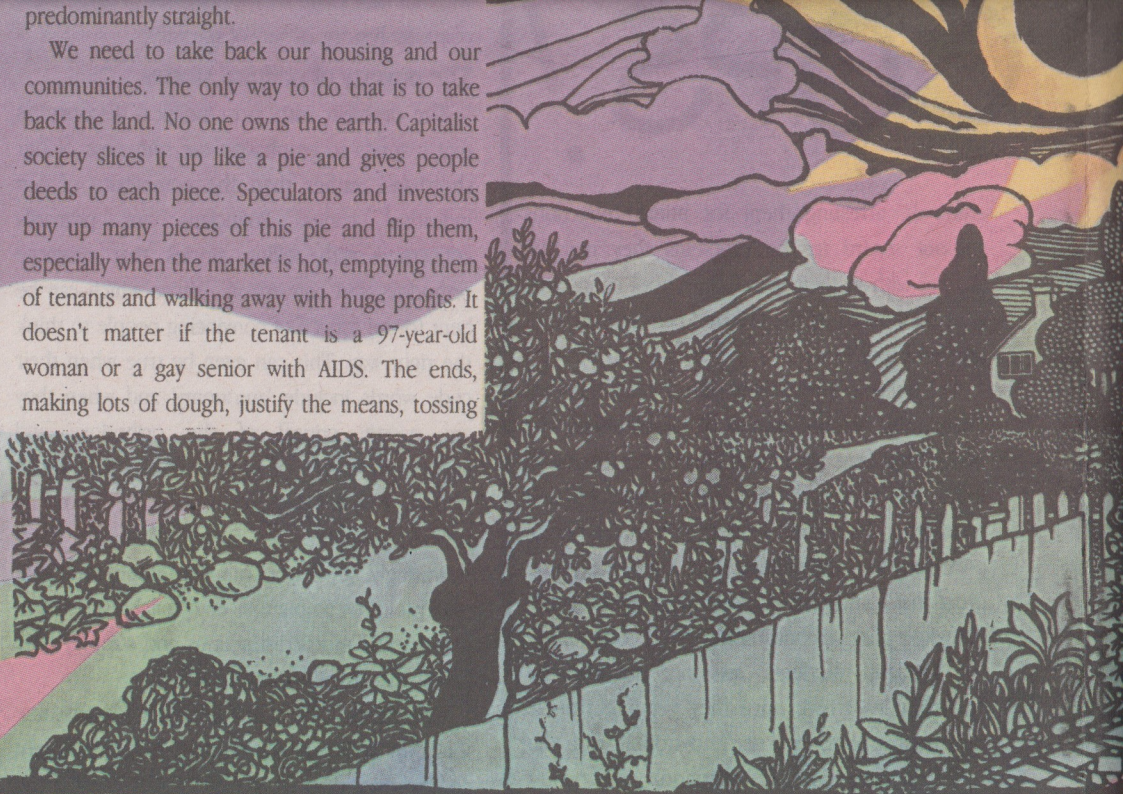
The only protection we would have for these extrajudicial evictions would be the fact that the landlord would sign the document "under penalty of perjury". This provides almost no protection because very few tenants would be able to sue the landlord after the eviction, and even if they did a landlord could simply claim ignorance as a defense.

Sadly, property owners already have significant protections against squatters, such as trespassing laws, and in most cases AB 1513 would be totally unnecessary to evict squatters.

On the other hand tenants would likely be harmed significantly. By giving landlords the power of the courts to order an eviction, AB 1513 will remove both state and local protections for tenants, allowing landlords to bypass all the processes designed to protect tenants. Essentially, landlords will be given direct command over the police without due process in the courts.

AB 1513 puts all tenants at risk, but the most at risk tenants will be tenants without a written lease agreement, tenants who do not speak English as a first language, tenants holding over from a previous owner, and any other tenant belonging to a marginalized group.

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Unfortunately, there's no magic bullet to turn all this around, short of ending capitalism and making housing a guaranteed right, something that isn't likely to happen anytime soon. However, there are ways to hopefully provide some relief.

We've got to take as much of the land off the market as we can so that it can't be speculated on and doesn't contribute to gentrification. Using models like the Community Land Trust (CLT), we can turn apartment buildings into coops where the existing tenants pay 30% or less of their income on rent, and no one gets displaced. The CLT maintains the mortgage on the land, the tenants in the building make the rules and manage the property. The CLT helps train people on how to live cooperatively, and how to take control of their own lives.

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Meanwhile, people should continue to squat and advocate for empty buildings and abandoned and to be transformed into affordable housing controlled by the residents. Legislative fixes, such as California Senator Mark Leno's proposal that someone has to own a building for five years before he or she can use the state Ellis Act to evict the tenants are helpful in cutting down on speculation, but expect challenges in the courts and the men and women in the black robes to be on the side of those who profit from housing.

Still, legislators need to be finding creative ways to limit and even eliminate speculation and activists should push them to keep working on stronger and stronger measures to keep speculators out of working-class and poor neighborhoods.

Another fix is to fight for true rent control, which would include vacancy control. California cities, such as San Francisco, Los Angeles and Berkeley, have rent stabilization, which only controls the rent while the tenant lives in the apartment. Once he or she moves out, the landlord can raise the rent on the vacant unit to market value. Berkeley once had true rent control (which made it affordable to students), but it was reduced to rent stabilization by a 1995 state law called Costa Hawkins. The fight to strengthen San Francisco, Oakland and Berkeley's rent stabilization has to be done on a state level and is going to be difficult, but it's a worthwhile one.

The fight may seem daunting, but, as the Chinese philosopher Laozi once said, the journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step.

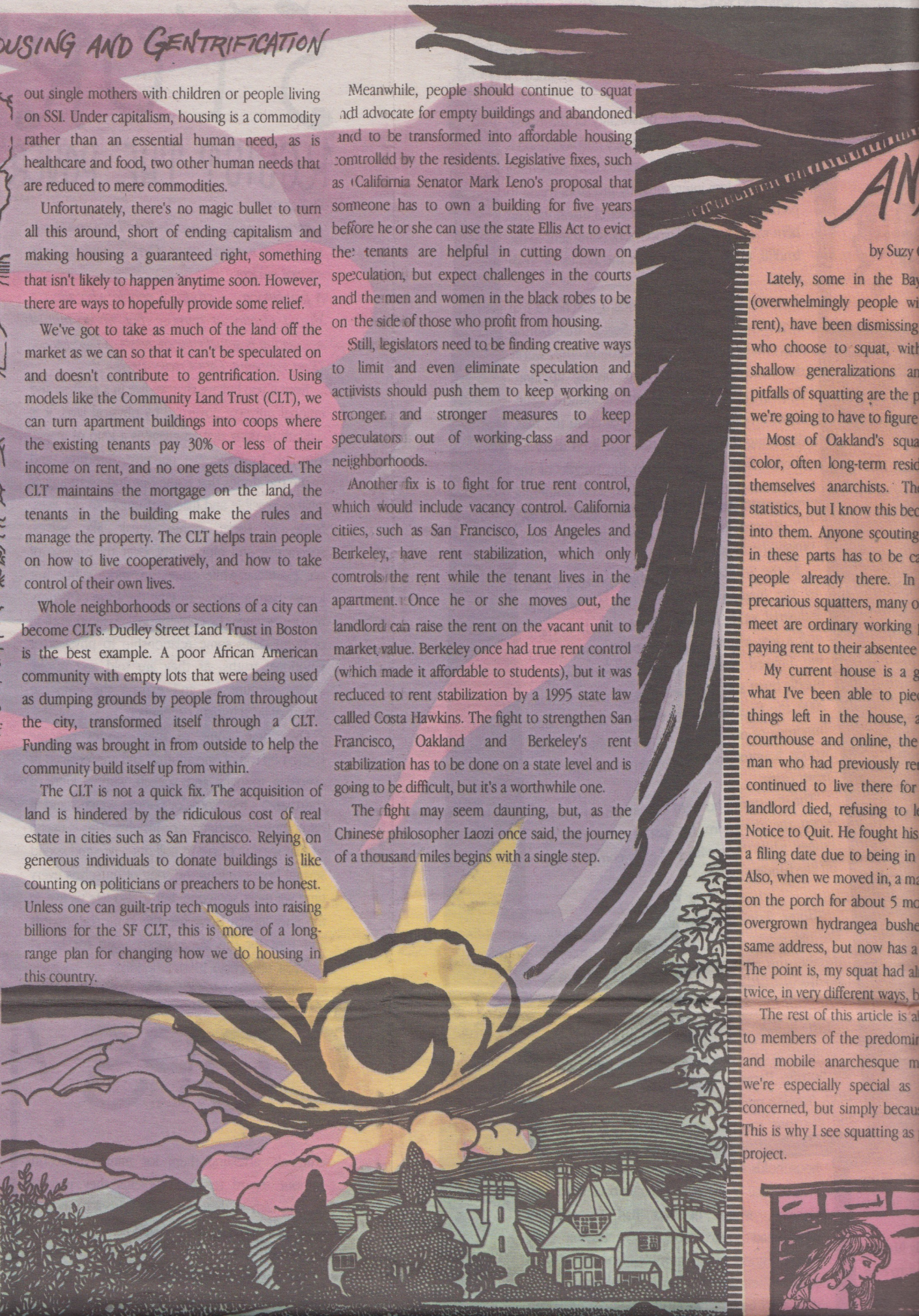
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The rest of this article is all to members of the predominant and mobile anarchesque movement we're especially special as concerned, but simply because This is why I see squatting as a project.

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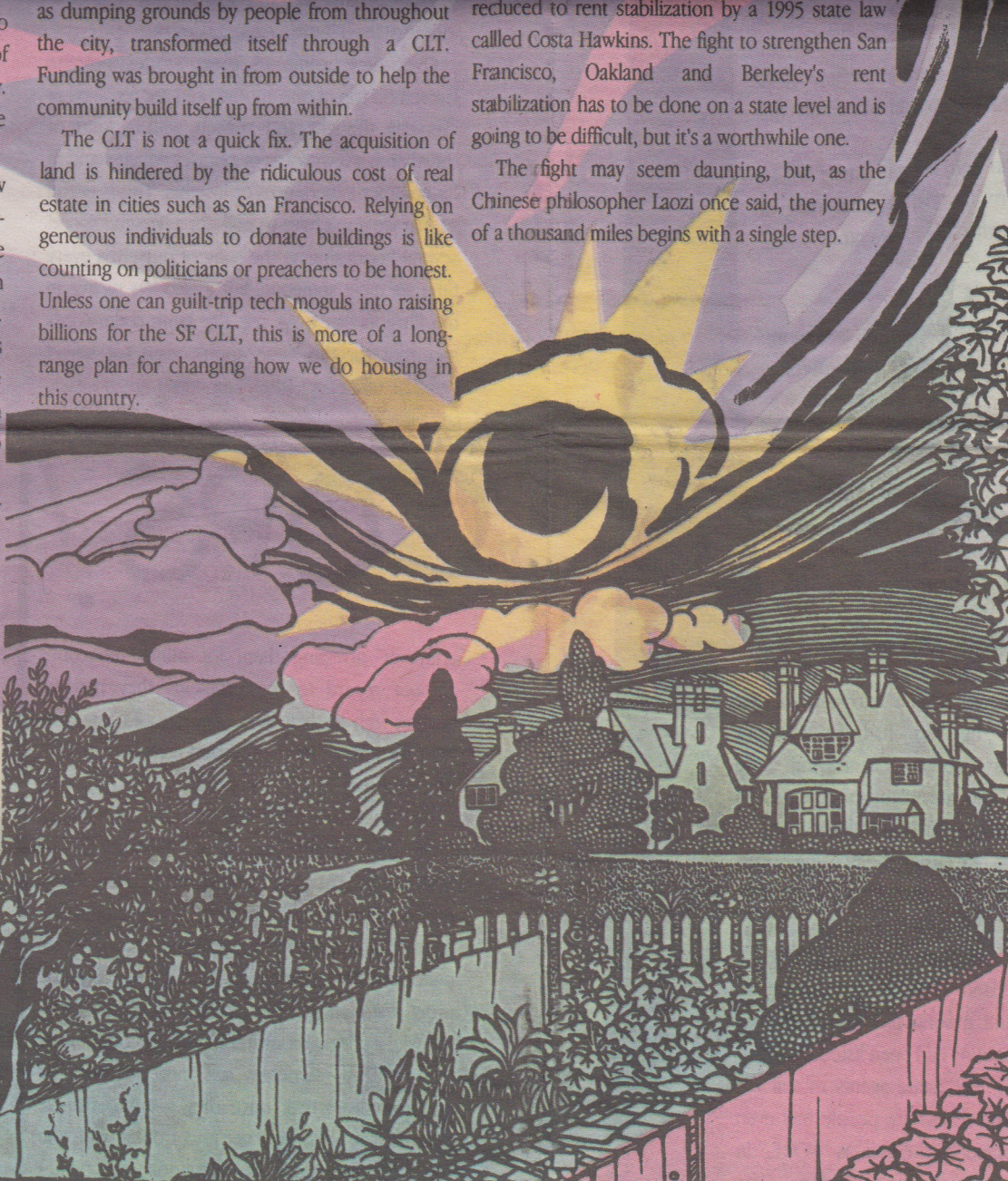
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Currently this bill is still in the California State
 Assembly Rules Committee. One course of action
 to stop the bill is to contact your assembly
 representative. Another course of action is for us
 to build a squatting movement so powerful that
 we can force the banks, speculators, and
 politicians to recognize that housing is a basic
 human right. Anyone who wants help establishing
 a squat in California or anywhere else in the U.S.A.
 can find information at blogsquats.blogspot.com
 or contact Land Action at land-action.org.

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Another fix is to fight for true rent control, which would include vacancy control. California cities such as San Francisco, Los Angeles and Berkeley have rent stabilization, which only caps the rent while the tenant lives in the unit. Once he or she moves out, the landlord can raise the rent on the vacant unit to market value. Berkeley once had true rent control (which made it affordable to students), but it was replaced by rent stabilization by a 1995 state law signed by Governor Pete Wilson (Costa Hawkins. The fight to strengthen San Francisco, Oakland and Berkeley's rent stabilization has to be done on a state level and is expected to be difficult, but it's a worthwhile one.

The fight may seem daunting, but, as the Chinese philosopher Laozi once said, the journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step.

ANARCHIST HOUSEKEEPING

by Suzy Q

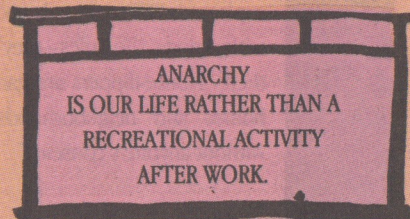
Lately, some in the Bay Area radical scene (overwhelmingly people with decent jobs who rent), have been dismissing squatting, and those who choose to squat, with what I believe are shallow generalizations and stereotypes. The pitfalls of squatting are the pitfalls of anarchy, and we're going to have to figure them out.

Most of Oakland's squatters are people of color, often long-term residents, who don't call themselves anarchists. There are no official statistics, but I know this because I keep bumping into them. Anyone scouting squattable buildings in these parts has to be cautious of disturbing people already there. In addition to these precarious squatters, many of the local squatters I meet are ordinary working people who stopped paying rent to their absentee slumlord years ago.

My current house is a good example. From what I've been able to piece together through things left in the house, and research at the courthouse and online, the last resident was a man who had previously rented the house, and continued to live there for two years after his landlord died, refusing to leave when served a Notice to Quit. He fought his eviction, but missed a filing date due to being in jail for a few weeks. Also, when we moved in, a man had been sleeping on the porch for about 5 months, hidden by the overgrown hydrangea bushes. He's still at the same address, but now has a roof and electricity. The point is, my squat had already been squatted

Many of the same issues come up in an open squat as in an infoshop, but unlike most activist groups, we have a physical incentive to commit rather than drop out when things get hard. Squatting can be an intense experience because you can't just skip the meeting Tuesday if the project is frustrating you. Anarchy is our life rather than a recreational activity after work.

Squatting and fighting for buildings has the potential to concretely disrupt the gentrification process. Once established, clever squatters can subvert tenant protection and property laws to drag a legal case, and therefore their occupancy, out for years. We waste developer and bank resources that would be used to do more damage elsewhere. The Hot Mess/RCA squat has delayed Rockridge Realty from developing an entire block of north Oakland for 2 1/2 years so far, and has cost them god knows how many thousands in legal fees.



In my experience, most people who assert that squatting causes gentrification cannot articulate the mechanism by which they believe this occurs. However, I can see two ways that members of the predominantly white, transient youth subculture that is our radical milieu choosing to squat might contribute to the gentrification process.

Firstly, it can bring white folks into marginalized and therefore easily squattable

WHY SQUATTING IS WORTH IT

Some dismissal of squatting has to do with personal experience of some squatters being assholes and some squats being drama bombs. I have to say that some squats/squatters do suck, but plenty of renters and homeowners suck as well. It seems odd for radicals to demand an infinitely higher standard of behavior from a group of people just because they don't pay rent.

The absence of set rules and laws can be surprisingly hard to navigate. Often, people do the work to scout, research, and squat a house, but then, because they have no sense of ownership, let assholes and wingnuts move in and don't feel they have the right or ability to kick them out. Our rent-paying friends tend to dump their unwanted people at squats to get rid of them.

Learning how to make decisions collectively and share resources and power is a difficult but essential part of the anarchist project. We need to develop a system of belonging outside of the capitalist model of property. We need to keep ourselves safe from people damaged by the police state without resorting to it. We need to make and hold each other to collective agreements.

These issues come up most fiercely in larger and more open collective projects, because people have different backgrounds and expectations, and there are too many people for everyone to develop close relationships with everyone else. Possibly because of this, most



INSTENANTS

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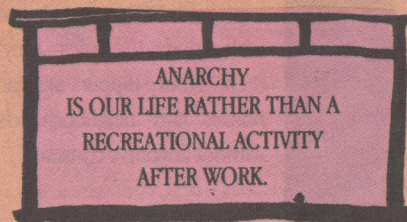
The rest of this article is about and is directed to members of the predominantly white, young, and mobile anarchesque milieu, not because we're especially special as far as squatting is concerned, but simply because that's what I am. This is why I see squatting as part of the anarchist project.



We avoid paying rent, and therefore have time for our lives, whether that's caring for friends and sweeties, educating ourselves, making music, engaging in community activism, or committing petty vandalism against developers and banks. and mobile anarchesque milieu, not because we're especially special as far as squatting is concerned,

We get practice at the nitty gritty of anarchy. We have to figure out how to live outside of police and property titles, resolve our own conflicts, and share a resource that really matters to us. I've rented several times, and even though

rockledge reality from developing an entire block of north Oakland for 2 1/2 years so far, and has cost them god knows how many thousands in legal fees.



In my experience, most people who assert that squatting causes gentrification cannot articulate the mechanism by which they believe this occurs. However, I can see two ways that members of the predominantly white, transient youth subculture that is our radical milieu choosing to squat might contribute to the gentrification process.

Firstly, it can bring white folks into marginalized, and therefore easily squattable areas, both as squat residents and through throwing shows that attract hipsters. One impediment to the gentrification of black neighborhoods is the racism of white yuppies, who don't want to live among people of color. A neighborhood containing white squatters often feels more comfortable to a white yuppie than one of black working families. The same applies to white punks renting in these same neighborhoods, except that squatters have to be on decent terms with their neighbors, while white punks with a lease are free to be assholes to marginalized people if they feel like it.

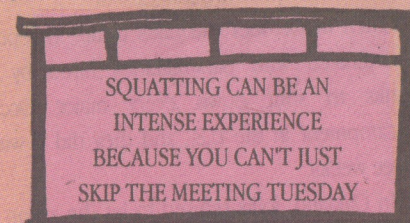
White squatters don't have to limit their activities to poor Black neighborhoods. C'mon guys, don't keep taking remedial math, move onto calculus already! The logic of capitalism ensures that there will always be a few houses empty, even in the highest-rent areas. You can exploit that white privilege to take those houses, and then bring a few of friends of color with you.

Secondly, squatters and renters are much easier for developers and city governments to push around than people who own their homes. If a collective buys a house together, rather than squatting, they will be in a position to resist gentrification. This is great for people who have

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These issues come up most fiercely in larger and more open collective projects, because people have different backgrounds and expectations, and there are too many people for everyone to develop close relationships with everyone else. Possibly because of this, most squats, even most anarchist squats, aren't open to all and sundry. My current place isn't. Everybody just talks about the more public and dramatic places.



In the end, anarchist housekeeping is sometimes tricky, but it's worth it. Squatting offers many benefits to the individual anarchist and the promotion of anarchy at large. The difficulties that it offers are opportunities for learning and growth. These types of problems are not unique to the squatting situation, but rather arise with any group of people learning to do something that really matters to them in a non-hierarchical way.

To my friends who squat, who work shitty jobs to pay their rent, who sleep in their cars, under bridges, in parks – I love you all.





ENSTENANTS

Currently this bill is still in the California State Assembly Rules Committee. One course of action to stop the bill is to contact your assembly representative. Another course of action is for us to build a squatting movement so powerful that we can force the banks, speculators, and politicians to recognize that housing is a basic human right. Anyone who wants help establishing that in California or anywhere else in the U.S.A. find information at blogsquats.blogspot.com or contact Land Action at land-action.org.

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We get practice at the nitty gritty of anarchy. We have to figure out how to live outside of police and property titles, resolve our own conflicts, and share a resource that really matters to us. I've rented several times, and even though neither myself nor anyone involved has even considered calling the landlord or the police to resolve our conflicts, the subtext of property rights is always there. Even if we have guests and travellers, and do everything by consensus - I pay \$400 a month for the right to this room. But in a squat, I am there because everyone else wants me to be there. Even if I found, opened, and fixed up the building, at the end of the day I don't have any enforceable rights over anyone else.

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White squatters don't have to limit their activities to poor Black neighborhoods. C'mon guys, don't keep taking remedial math, move onto calculus already! The logic of capitalism ensures that there will always be a few houses empty, even in the highest-rent areas. You can exploit that white privilege to take those houses, and then bring a few of friends of color with you.

Secondly, squatters and renters are much easier for developers and city governments to push around than people who own their homes. If a collective buys a house together, rather than squatting, they will be in a position to resist gentrification. This is great for people who have enough resources to pool to buy a house. I am not one of those people. Owning a house requires paying not just the mortgage, but taxes, garbage fees, etc. As an anarchist, I would rather not hand my resources to those people even if I had them.

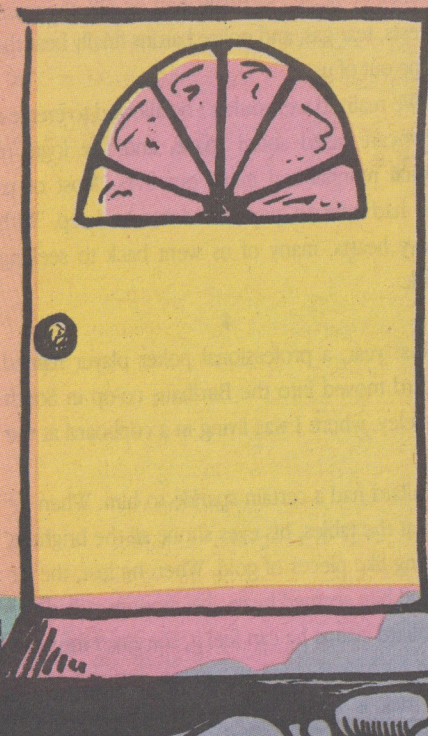
Also, you can still squat in partially gentrified areas that would be too expensive to buy a house in, so the house-buying strategy relies on aiding the initial process of gentrification, in order to benefit from it in the end. Many of the SF and Berkeley co-ops either sold their buildings or gentrified internally.

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The Speculation GMO SHOP: Living at the Knife's Edge

by Teresa Smith

A mind all logic is like a knife all blade. It cuts the hand that uses it.

- Rabindranath Tagore

Six years ago, I lost a teenage cousin to suicide, and while I know that he was responsible for making the decision to end his life, I believe that his experience of growing up in poverty guided his hand. As I grappled with my grief, I became determined to dismantle the system of power that had pulled care away from my cousin, a system that pits everyone against each other in a race towards psychological and ecological destruction.

I envisioned a new society where everyone would be empowered to meet each other's needs and their own, and to create meaningful connections between ourselves and the planet, without our actions being tainted by the cold logic of capital.

In 2011, that vision seemed to be emerging with the public square movements popping up around the world. There was the Arab Spring followed by Europe's Indignato Summer, culminating in the fall with Occupy encampments sprouting up in hundreds of cities across the United States. People were gathering in public

players will try to keep you in, trick you into staying at the table when you know you're losing. Poker is a game played with magnetism, and I might say with a spark of something animal.

Last week, I was drinking tea with Ballard at his new apartment, and I asked if he'd ever thought of extending his gambling skill into the speculative market. "You'd be good at flipping houses," I said, baiting him.

He scrunched his nose like I'd loosed bad air.

"I could never do that," he replied, and later explained: "When you play poker, everyone at the table knows the rules—they've consented to be there. House-flippers are gambling with people's homes and neighborhoods, and they do it without anyone's consent."

\$

A few weeks ago, I was buying wine at the Black & White Liquor Store when three rambunctious men came bouncing in like they owned the place. They were knocking things over, tossing bags of chips back and forth. One of them turned to a young man with a bicycle and said, "I'll give you a hundred bucks, cash, for that bike."

Moments later, the young man was walking

"We're scrapping this junk," Jack explained. "It will be all new wood!"

He was erasing the personality of the house, just as the whole South Berkeley neighborhood is being gradually sterilized, replaced by something less funky, less interesting, by investors trying to predict the tastes of the next set of investors. And here was century-old woodwork being sent to the landfill, to be replaced with the bones of fresh trees.

As a teenager in the mid-90s, I watched a real estate boom rip through the Seattle area. During that time, investors from around the world descended upon the region, buying up land, flipping it, developing it, and flipping it again. Massive housing tracts were erected in the hills, displacing the creatures that had lived there for uncountable generations. In the middle of the day, bears and cougars could be seen wandering

the streets like ghosts, searching for their vanished ecosystems.

As the Seattle housing bubble peaked, fueled by the flipping frenzy, only the highest paid industrial workers in the nation (tech workers and a few aeronautical engineers) could afford the inflated housing prices. When the tech bubble burst and the Boeing layoffs came in Year 2000, the housing market collapsed as well, and hundreds of new homes were left empty in the woods, haunted by a the specter of a future that never came.

The investors who were left with those houses when the downturn hit lost a great deal of money, while those who sold early enough made off like bandits.

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Then in October the raids came. The police coordinated with paramilitaries hired by the banks to shut down every major Occupy encampment in the U.S., and they did it within three weeks.

In Oakland, folks refused to let the vision go. We re-occupied, again and again, until January 28 of 2012. On that day, hundreds of us marched through Oakland to try to liberate an abandoned building. Our hope was to transform the long-empty, publicly-owned Kaiser Building into a true community center, a place where people could feed each other, and sleep in a bed, no questions asked. It would be a space with a roof where we could work together to continue to understand and address the evolving needs of our community.

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Moments later, the young man was walking out of the store with the money while the three men clustered around their new bike, high-fiving each other: "We could sell this bike on Craigslist tomorrow for two hundred!"

I left the store, wanting to escape whatever mania they were flinging as quickly as possible. While walking home, however, I was followed by the man who had bought the bike.

"Hey, hey lady!" he was saying as he rode at my heels, "I just bought a house! Right here, in this neighborhood!"

He veered in front of me and suddenly his two henchmen were at my flanks. Three men to one woman: very bad odds. I grabbed my bottle of wine, ready to defend myself if needed.

The men were all talking fast.

"You want a job?" said the one with the bike.

"I'll let you guard my new house, super cheap."

"You're a house flipper!" I realized.

"I'm a family man!" he protested, and pulled out his smartphone to show me photos of his wife and kids. His first granddaughter had been born just two days earlier.

The man introduced himself as Jack and

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"House flipping is less like poker, and more like old maid," said X.lenc as we were putting together this issue of Slingshot. "In Oakland, it's like the speculators are pulling cards right out of your hand."

Last month, X.lenc was evicted from his apartment in San Francisco, where eviction rates are horrific. Between March 2010 and February 2013, housing prices in SF surged by 22 percent and evictions rose by 38 percent, with 1,716

households suffering eviction in the city in 2012.

After the eviction, X.lenc relocated to East Oakland, where he has had to confront widespread fear about "gentrifying the neighborhood." Folks are scared of doing social work in their neighborhoods in Oakland because they don't want to risk raising the housing prices, which would surely bring the plague of evictions over from across the Bay.

A few months ago, Phat Beets and Arizmendi, two radical Oakland collectives dedicated to urban farming and making pastries, discovered that their organizations had been listed on a map that was used by real estate agents to sell the neighborhood. The real estate people had even renamed or "rebranded" the area as "NOBE," in

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But the social disease that is capitalism will not let itself be healed so easily. And on J28, the mass arrests, tear gas, and police batons finally beat the hope out of us.

We realized we wouldn't be allowed to create a new care-based social space, and the logic of capital re-inhabited many our lives. Most of us still had rent to pay and debts to keep. With heavy hearts, many of us went back to seeking work.

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Last year, a professional poker player named Ballard moved into the Birdhaus co-op in South Berkeley, where I was living in a cupboard at the time.

Ballard had a certain sparkle to him. When he won at the tables, his eyes shone all the brighter, glinting like pieces of gold. When he lost, the air around him seemed heavy, his motions stifled.

Ballard claims he can feel it, the exact moment when his luck is about to run out during a game. The trick is knowing when to pull out. Good

each other: "We could sell this bike on Craigslist tomorrow for two hundred!"

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The man introduced himself as Jack and he was born in Mexico in the 1970s, just as globalized trade began its stranglehold of that nation's labor market. His family moved to up East L.A. when he was a boy, and Jack grew up in dire poverty there. But now, thanks to his luck flipping houses, Jack's granddaughter was going to grow up rich, Rich, RICH! She would go to nurturing schools, eat healthy food, and never have to sleep with gunfire as a lullaby—just as long as Jack flipped his houses right.

I followed the three back to the beautiful 102-year-old Victorian that Jack had just purchased on MLK Blvd. The other two men had been hired by Jack to remodel the the house so he could sell it in 6 months for much more than he paid for it.

When we entered the house, I was shocked to see that the beautiful built-in bookcases had been pried from the walls, and that the antique molding was lying in pieces on the floor.

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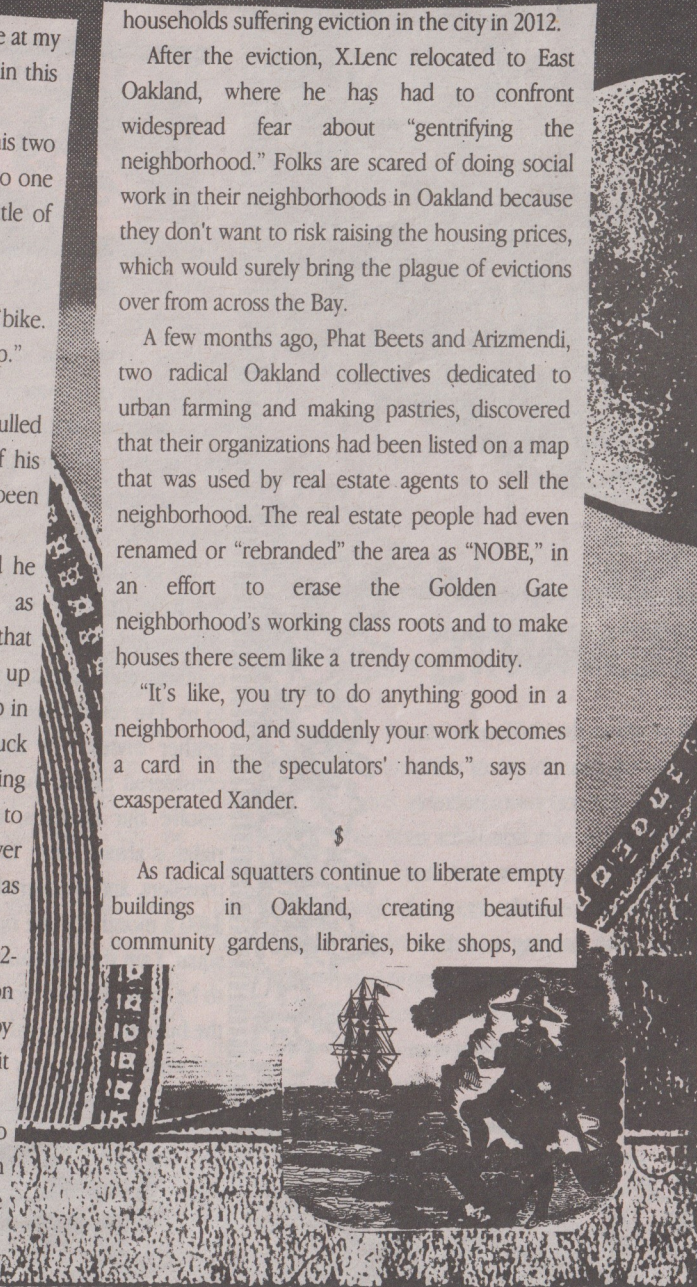
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"It's like, you try to do anything good in a neighborhood, and suddenly your work becomes a card in the speculators' hands," says an exasperated Xander.

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As radical squatters continue to liberate empty buildings in Oakland, creating beautiful community gardens, libraries, bike shops, and



free schools in abandoned buildings, they often have to face that lingering fear that the speculators will move in and evict them, reaping the profits of their free labor.

Two winters ago, the radical squat known as Hellarity was shut down in West Oakland after a glorious 12-year run. It was purchased, sight unseen, in 2006 by a house flipper from India who spent 6 years fighting the squatters in court. In 2012, a judge ruled in the house flipper's favor and Hell was evicted.

Even though adverse possession laws *seen* to be in their favor, squatters rarely gain legal ownership of the spaces they fix up.

In the only known case of a radical squatter gaining legal ownership of a house in California, the original owner had died, leaving no next of kin. This situation is quite rare. If the squatted building has a living owner or is owned by a bank, it is often only a matter of time before the property is reclaimed by the market.

Mike Delacour, who is known in the Bay Area for coming up with the idea for People's Park,

believes house flippers killed his wife Gina Sasso, who was known for her longtime advocacy for homeless and disabled peoples' rights.

Early in 2011, a pair of eager young real estate flippers purchased the South Berkeley apartment building in which Gina and Mike were renters. The new building owners insisted that Mike and Gina remove decades of projects that the couple had accumulated on the back patio.

Gina was exhausted from her work fighting measure S, and it was the rainy season, but the investors were quite pushy, anxious that the real estate bubble might pop, and they wanted to remodel the patio before selling the building.

Gina died of pneumonia on May 25 of 2011, midway through cleaning the deck. The building has changed owners half a dozen times since

of of the system. capital had been allowed to rewrite a part of me, to eclipse me. Since then, I have felt more detached from my work, and have found it easier to take on new jobs and bring money (and care) into my life.

Rather than knowledge, the forbidden fruit of capital offers a lack of knowledge of good and evil: this "initiating sin" delivers a claim to innocence and ignorance. "I was just doing my job," says my inner capitalist, "and I am not responsible for the things my job makes me do."

Last week, an intense storm blew over the East Bay, lightning striking houses and setting off car alarms. I was in Oakland during the storm, treating myself to lunch with my favorite Marxist and his partner, while the rain poured in buckets outside.

When I told the Marxist I was planning to write about the "disease of speculation" and the "gambling class," he wanted to caution me against moralizing the behavior of capitalists. After all, they are just following the rules.

"If you could describe capitalism in one simple sentence," I said, "What would it be?"

He thought for a moment, then said, "You spend money to get money."

It is upon that basic mechanism—spending money to get money—that so many other mechanisms whirl into play. Often folks don't realize that, when we choose to allow the logic of capitalism to invade our interactions, other things we might not consent to—like deforestation, homelessness, colonialism, and gentrification—are built into the system.

Capitalism is a closed system of logic—it is only concerned with its function of perpetuating itself by turning more things into commodities. Community needs and ecological protection simply aren't built into this logic of perpetual expansion of value, so they are not factored in to

society's biggest priority is for Wall Street investors to flip their stocks—to make their publicly traded corporations worth more this quarter than when it was when they bought its stock. That is the logic that leads a 45,000 square foot urban farm to be transformed into apartments in a city with 30,000 empty homes in a time of climate crisis, and is pushed through by an internal national military.

During last week's storm, Ballard, my poker-playing friend, was in a building that was struck by lightning. "I could feel it in my feet!" he later said, laughing, as if exhilarated by the thrill of it.

To be alive is to risk death. When our lives are on the line, we are reminded, quite viscerally, of how much those lives are worth to us. This is the value of taking risk.

The smalltime commodities investors get to experience the thrill (and stress!) of great risk because they are often putting everything on the line—the wellbeing of their families, their future social mobility—with the hope of making more money.

As you move up the wealth ladder, however, you find that speculation begins to take on different forms because "risk" is no longer actual risk to the investors' livelihoods, it is simply an abstract part of an equation. And as risk becomes more abstracted, extremely risk decisions are made without fear of failure, because the failure may be considered smaller than some other success for an investor with many types of holdings.

Just look at the role that risk played in the CDO-driven subprime housing collapse. Invented in 1987, a CDO (Collateralized Debt Obligation) is a financial instrument that is essentially a promise to pay investors in a prescribed sequence based



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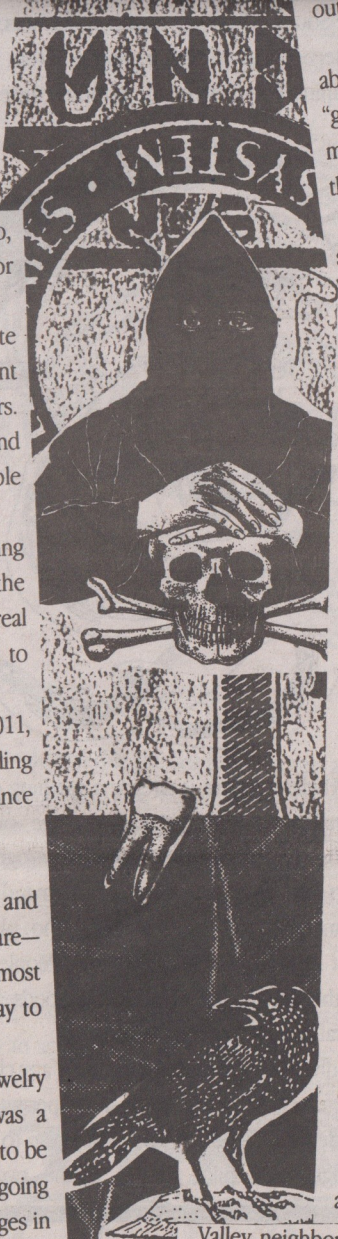
Gina died of pneumonia on May 25 of 2011, midway through cleaning the deck. The building has changed owners half a dozen times since then.

Life is a hustle in the Bay. Between rent and debt, the costs of food and fees for healthcare—you have to make money somehow. Even most squatters I know work jobs or find some way to bring cash into their lives.

Last year, I started a booth where I sold jewelry made out of garbage. The booth itself was a statement about capitalism—every item was to be made of something that I had saved from going to the landfill. "Do you realize there are villages in China that have no garbage!" I would orate to

passersby, "Garbage is necessitated by the system, but we can undo it!"

Anti-capitalism must have been a hot commodity that year, because my garbage jewelry was selling fast. When winter came, I found myself in a dilemma: three craft fairs in a row and I was out of garbage to make new jewelry with—and I had already pre-paid to have my booth at the events! So I broke my vow to myself and bought new feathers and buttons.



outside. When I told the Marxist I was planning to write about the "disease of speculation" and the "gambling class," he wanted to caution me against moralizing the behavior of capitalists. After all, they are just following the rules. "If you could describe capitalism in one simple sentence," I said, "What would it be?"

He thought for a moment, then said, "You spend money to get money."

It is upon that basic mechanism—spending money to get money—that so many other mechanisms whirl into play. Often folks don't realize that, when we choose to allow the logic of capitalism to invade our interactions, other things we might not consent to—like deforestation, homelessness, colonialism, and gentrification—are built into the system.

Capitalism is a closed system of logic—it is only concerned with its function of perpetuating itself by turning more things into commodities. Community needs and ecological protection simply aren't built into this logic of perpetual expansion of value, so they are not factored in to capitalist decision-making.

This logic of capital is self-perpetuating: it aims to rewrite all human activity. This is why we're seeing the rapid privatization of what were once public services—post offices, schools, hospitals, prisons, low-income housing, and more. Under capital, everything is to be transformed into a commodity ripe for speculation.

In June of 2013, tree sitters attempted to stop a permaculture farm in San Francisco's Hayes

Valley neighborhood from being developed into apartments. The farm had been sold by the city to a giant real estate corporation, and proponents of the development claimed that there was a desperate need for housing in the city. But according to the 2010 census, an estimated 30,000 homes in SF stand vacant, held by speculators who do not want to burden themselves with renters. These are enough homes to house every homeless person in the city—five times over.

On June 13th 2013, dozens of riot police

how much those lives are worth to us. This is the value of taking risk.

The smalltime commodities investors get to experience the thrill (and stress!) of great risk because they are often putting everything on the line—the wellbeing of their families, their future social mobility—with the hope of making more money.

As you move up the wealth ladder, however, you find that speculation begins to take on different forms because "risk" is no longer actual risk to the investors' livelihoods, it is simply an abstract part of an equation. And as risk becomes more abstracted, extremely risk decisions are made without fear of failure, because the failure may be considered smaller than some other success for an investor with many types of holdings.

Just look at the role that risk played in the CDO-driven subprime housing collapse. Invented in 1987, a CDO (Collateralized Debt Obligation) is a financial instrument that is essentially a promise to pay investors in a prescribed sequence based on the flow of cash that the CDO collects from the assets that it owns. CDOs buy debt, so it is in their best interest for more debt to exist. In the early 2000s, CDOs actually gave lenders incentives to make the risky home loans that led up to the 2007-9 mortgage crisis, leading to the "Great Recession" in which nearly 9 million American jobs vanished, and strife spread across the global.

The decisions made by CDOs insured that millions of people would lose their jobs, but the investors who pulled out at the right time made a fortune. The subprime home loans were a huge risk that had been factored in to the equation of creating growth of investor wealth for a set period of time.

On the macro and micro levels, the system of often capital encourages investors to bet against the public good (or at least, the public good isn't factored in to the decision-making), and these investors play their stocks and financial instruments right, they will walk away rewarded.

A majority of the globe's resources and labor

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In Catholicism, there is the idea of the “original sin.” For those not indoctrinated, the legend goes something like: Eve and Adam were these two hippies, and they ate some fruit they weren’t supposed to. The fruit gave them a new type of awareness, but it must have been a pretty bad trip, because afterwards they were spiritually severed from their creator, who kicked them out of her garden, and they couldn’t hang out naked or forge for their food anymore, but instead had to wear clothes and work the land to eat.

Perhaps, when we surrender to the logic of capital, we each have a kind of “forbidden fruit moment” which comes when we make our first decision to do something that we are morally opposed to in order to receive cash.

After I broke my vow to make jewelry only with garbage, a sort of numbness settled in. I felt as if I had surrendered a bit of myself to the logic



to rewrite all human activity. This is why we’re seeing the rapid privatization of what were once public services—post offices, schools, hospitals, prisons, low-income housing, and more. Under capital, everything is to be transformed into a commodity ripe for speculation.

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Valley neighborhood from being developed into apartments. The farm had been sold by the city to a giant real estate corporation, and proponents of the development claimed that there was a desperate need for housing in the city. But according to the 2010 census, an estimated 30,000 homes in SF stand vacant, held by speculators who do not want to burden themselves with renters. These are enough homes to house every homeless person in the city—five times over.

On June 13th, 2013, dozens of riot police raided Hayes Valley farm and arrested the tree sitters, in a raid organized by the Department of Homeland Security.

Exactly a month before the Homeland Security raided Hayes Valley Farm, researchers at the Mauna Loa Observatory clocked the atmosphere’s CO2 levels at 400 parts per million (ppm), the highest ever. In the mid-1980s, CO2 levels climbed into the “climate change danger zone” of 350 ppm, and now, at 400ppm and climbing, mass extinction and global starvation is already happening.

If you live in America, the average distance your food travels to reach you is 1500 miles. Creating urban farms where residents can grow

their food locally is a vital first step towards reversing the fossil fuel emission that leads to climate change.

Under capitalism’s cold logic, however, our



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A majority of the globe’s resources and labor have been hijacked by this game of creating temporary profits for those who are able to gamble for the highest stakes. But as this system attempts to replace all human relationships with its broken own logic of perpetual growth, all of us are bound to lose.

\$

As a person with epilepsy, I have found that the money helps me get the care I need to reduce my seizures, and to do the projects that lend meaning to my life.

Every day, I struggle to justify my interactions with a system I despise, telling myself that I am worthy of the care that the money I make brings, but also vowing to keep my eyes open, to take every opportunity I can find to liberate care from the system, to de-commodify the things that matter to us, liberating care from the market, to the extend that is currently possible.

SILENT and INVISIBLE MARINE TURBINES IN PUGET SOUND

By Helena Bla-Latchkey

I recently visited my mother who lives in the Discovery Bay area, just outside of Port Townsend, WA. Her front yard leads to the beach and her back yard borders on wetlands. In the morning, otters run through the property to rinse themselves in the freshwater ponds; at night, frogs sing and cry into the cold, damp air. Lichens drip off of towering pine, fir, cedar and madrona trees. Ferns, wild flowers and mosses blanket everything. The Cascade mountains glimmer like icy jewels on the horizon when the fog clears. It is a serene, primordially beautiful place, but the peace this small community usually enjoys has been disturbed by a subtle foreboding.

In 2007, the Snohomish Public Utility District received permits and 10 million dollars from the Federal Energy Regulatory Committee to begin

could have a grave impact on the survival of many species.

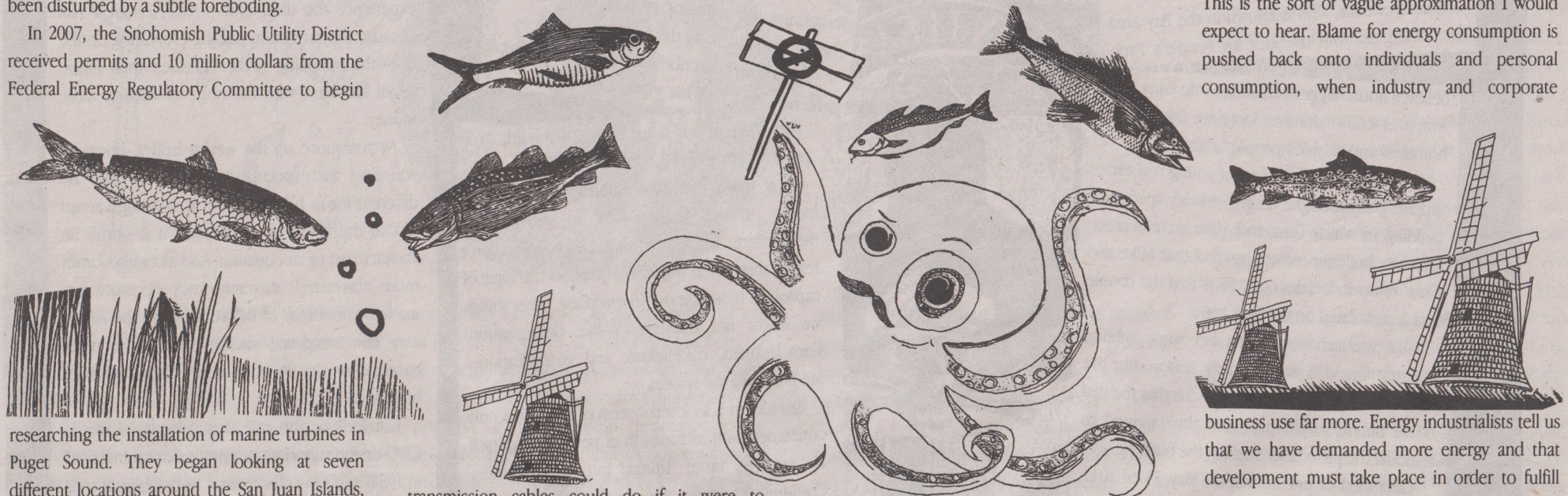
Simply installing them will involve extensive drilling directly into the sea floor. SPUD has ensured the public that this construction will be "silent and invisible" to surface dwellers. OpenHydro turbines, which will be used, are designed without toxic lubricants which can leak and cause environmental damage. Still, they will require constant maintenance in order to function properly. Salt water is corrosive. It seems difficult to hypothesize how much damage a massive hunk of metal, rapidly spinning in waters that reach 9 knots and connected to electrical

remained hospitable despite the construction of multiple dams upstream during the 80s. Here, these fish, revered as sacred to the Tulalip, Snohomish and S'kallam tribes, breed and die as they have for thousands of years. If the Skagit River becomes inaccessible due to magnetic pollution, these salmon will have no place to spawn.

Many people who live in the Admiralty Inlet area depend directly on the environment economically. The local economy is largely driven by the Sound -- from fishermen, to farmers, to the local service and tourism industries. From liberal, left-leaning Port Townsend, to more conservative

turbines at Admiralty Inlet. How can these two turbines demonstrate that more extensive installation of turbines will not cause more substantial environmental impact? The FERC has promised them up to 10 million more to continue research. Obtaining permits will simply be a matter of SPUD jumping through all the right bureaucratic hoops.

The power output the turbines will have is relatively unknown. I was told by a Port Townsend local that once all ten were installed and the project was complete, they would have a power output equivalent to a standard light bulb a year for every person in the greater Seattle area. This is the sort of vague approximation I would expect to hear. Blame for energy consumption is pushed back onto individuals and personal consumption, when industry and corporate



researching the installation of marine turbines in Puget Sound. They began looking at seven different locations around the San Juan Islands, areas all known for their natural beauty and biodiversity. In 2010, SPUD honed in on two sites

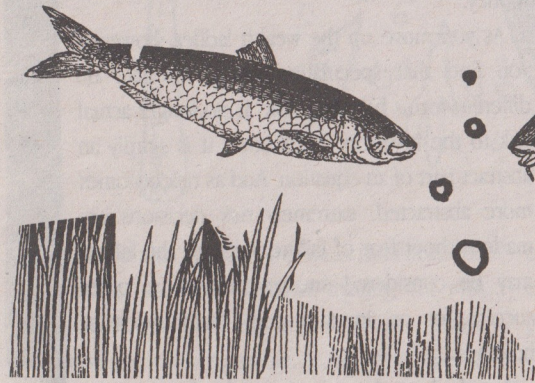
transmission cables could do if it were to malfunction.

Port Hadlock, there is already a seething mixture

business use far more. Energy industrialists tell us that we have demanded more energy and that development must take place in order to fulfill our supposed needs. However, if SPUD had peoples needs and desires at heart, they would

themselves in the freshwater ponds; at night, frogs sing and cry into the cold, damp air. Lichens drip off of towering pine, fir, cedar and madrona trees. Ferns, wild flowers and mosses blanket everything. The Cascade mountains glimmer like icy jewels on the horizon when the fog clears. It is a serene, primordial beautiful place, but the peace this small community usually enjoys has been disturbed by a subtle foreboding.

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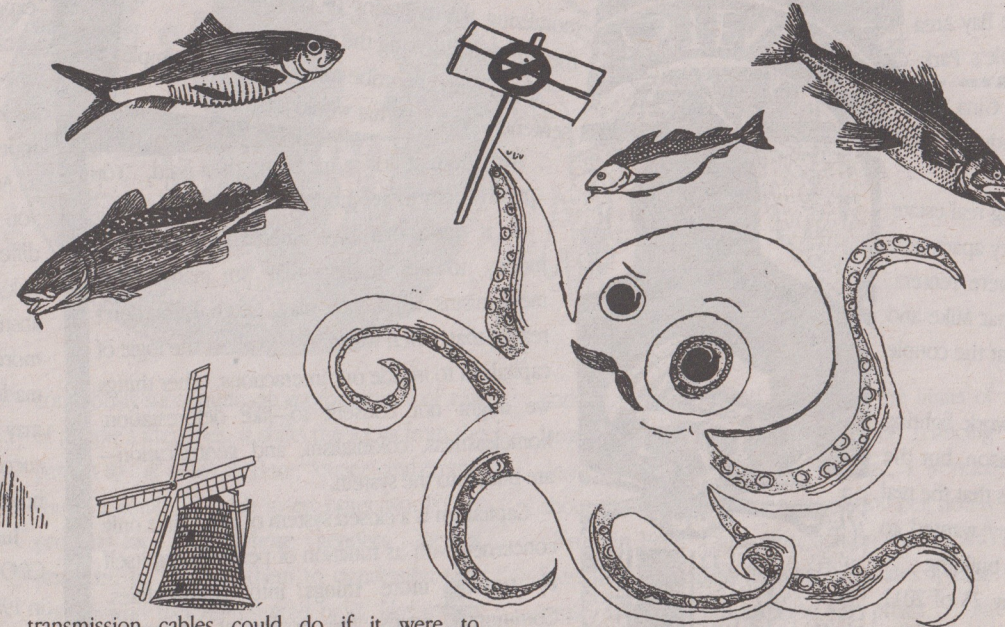


researching the installation of marine turbines in Puget Sound. They began looking at seven different locations around the San Juan Islands, areas all known for their natural beauty and biodiversity. In 2010, SPUD honed in on two sites -- Bremerton Pass and Admiralty Inlet. They recently settled on the latter as their pilot project. They plan to install two OpenHydro turbines as soon as possible.

Marine turbines sound like a good idea -- a cleaner, renewable source of naturally occurring energy. This is certainly how they are portrayed by the SPUD and OpenHydro Corporation, in between assurances that environmental impact will constantly be monitored. How often have we heard this before, during the experimental phases of energy projects? What level of monitoring will these earnest promises ensure?

The truth is that marine turbines inevitably cause damage to life whenever and wherever they are placed near life. Turbines are massive wheels which are propelled by naturally occurring currents in wind or air, such as windmills. A

OpenHydro turbines, which will be used, are designed without toxic lubricants which can leak and cause environmental damage. Still, they will require constant maintenance in order to function properly. Salt water is corrosive. It seems difficult to hypothesize how much damage a massive hunk of metal, rapidly spinning in waters that reach 9 knots and connected to electrical



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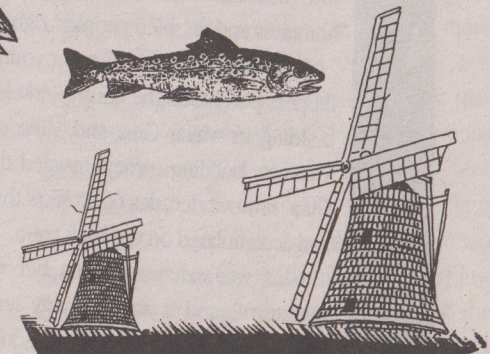
Puget Sound is home to a rich ecosystem which includes increasingly precarious species such as orca whales and salmon. The Skagit River, which feeds the Puget Sound, is one of the only places in the world where wild salmon still spawn. Salmon runs extend as far as 100 miles from the Strait of Juan de Fuca, utilizing complex and sensitive navigation in order to reach the shallow, temperate beds in which they were born. Doing this requires traveling along Earth's magnetic fields. The Skagit River has miraculously

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business use far more. Energy industrialists tell us that we have demanded more energy and that development must take place in order to fulfill our supposed needs. However, if SPUD had peoples needs and desires at heart, they would listen to the people of Jefferson, Snohomish and Island Counties.

Sadly, there are few ways to obtain "clean" energy and no ideal ways to generate it at the volume it is currently used. Capitalist industry will inevitably drive itself forward until it is too late -- no technology too untested or territory too sacred to spill blood on. Seductive lies do little to obscure the obvious: obtaining permits does not give them permission to destroy life and livelihoods.

THE PUBLIC

Continued from Page 1

unanimous decisions with talking space available

sober, lively and inspired interactions, people

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The truth is that marine turbines inevitably cause damage to life whenever and wherever they are placed near life. Turbines are massive wheels which are propelled by naturally occurring currents in wind or air, such as windmills. A turbine creates a vortex as it pulls these currents within its center. With these currents, modern turbines pull organisms and debris within, chopping them up and shooting them out at high speed.

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The turbines proposed by SPUD are open turbines -- 6 meter wide steel bands, with fins placed within. There are only a handful of open marine turbines in the world. They are considered relatively new technology and there are many unknowns. However, one known risk is that any marine mammals, fish and invertebrates in the area could be sucked in and battered within the turbines' wall. The turbines also emit a constant stream of sonic and magnetic pollution. Because many marine animals rely on sounds and polarities in order to navigate, this white noise could disrupt and disorient them. This alone

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object to the turbines or demand more information. There are currently no plans for direct action as far as I could tell. People rightly fear the destruction of their livelihoods and the natural beauty that surrounds them.

Sadly, local residents do not have any choice in the matter. If SPUD gets their permits, they already have the green light. They plan to do this through their pilot project -- the two small

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THE PUBLIC

Continued from Page 1

I first discovered the allure of the public square but it wasn't until the Occupy movement began that I discovered its power.

"If the structure does not permit dialogue the structure must be changed" --Paulo Freire

Whatever you've heard in the news or media about Occupy Wall Street might be true. It attracted the fringes of society. There was violence and apathy. There was disorganization. People were dirty and unkempt. There were drugs and disagreements, infighting and a lack of clear direction.

There was also, however, mainstream moms, teachers, lawyers, theater directors, students, tourists, shopkeepers, tech geeks, artists, and custodians. They were interacting, having conversations, learning about one another, and breaking bread. There was healing and medicine, therapeutics circles, meditation sits, yoga classes, chess games, lively debates, theater games, art stations, and public radio broadcasts. There were people trying out new (and old) systems of organizations, and as the crowds grew, those systems were fine-tuned until, I witnessed, crowds of over a thousand, were making

unanimous decisions with talking space available for everyone. *Unanimous* decisions. With space for *everyone*, if they chose to speak, to be heard. And for those that preferred not to speak in front of a crowd, there were small committee meetings and spokes-councils where spokespersons were



chosen to represent those present at the small group meetings to the larger group. Networks were organized and maps were written, where people could find indoor places to sleep and bathe. And as much as there were drugs and disagreements, infighting and a lack of clear direction, there was an overwhelming majority of

sober, lively and inspired interactions, people who might never have met coming to find common ground on their disparate interests and endeavors. Most strikingly, the more people talked and interacted, ate together and prayed together, argued and listened to each other, made music and art, sang songs, and just spent time together, they closer they came to developing common understandings, clear goals, and effective action strategies.

In this day and age where we are all looking for the next quick fix, when we want our desires satiated and our national issues simplified into quick and witty internet memes, it's no wonder that the act of being, without intentionally doing, might seem wasteful and useless. But it is precisely this act that is truly revolutionary.

The strategy of divide and conquer is an age-old effective tool that continues to work upon us today across every sector of our lives. From the separation of ages in public schools to the history of racialized housing in this country, from demonizing people based on their religious or political affiliations to gender discrimination and objectification, the media attempts to bombard us with divide and conquer rhetoric until we are

RESISTANCE

Rebellion in Turkey's Taksim Square

Takes Root

By İnci Stan, reporting from Istanbul

Things started to change in Taksim Square in Istanbul, Turkey a year ago May 27 2013. This time the demonstrations were not about Kurdish people's rights, education fees or a specific person. The initial protest in Istanbul was about saving a park and its trees. An affluent man wanted to build a new shopping center to earn more profits, and to do so he would have to pave over the expansive Gezi Park.

The less nature there is, the more important it is. In Turkey, especially in Istanbul, a busy city of 16 million people, you can see lots of people

parking lots, and apartments.

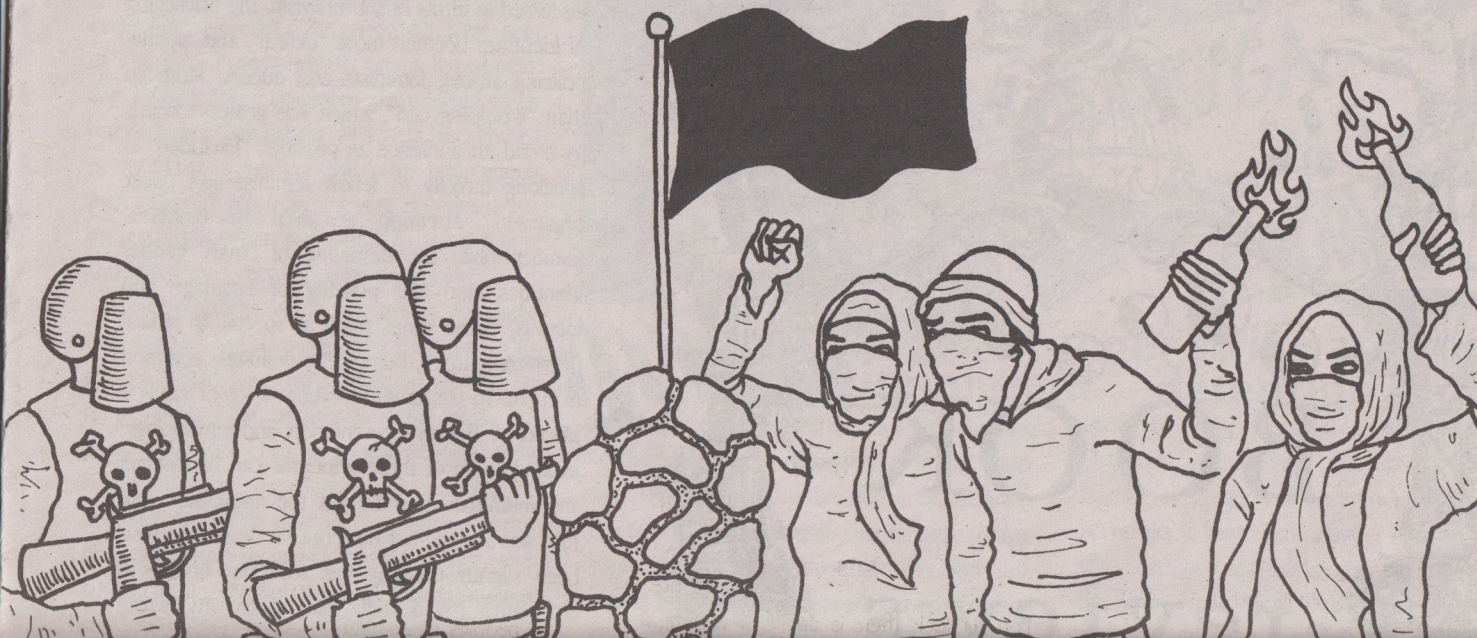
Protests are a part of regular life in Istanbul. If you are a tourist, you might see more than 5 protests in the same day. Everyone thought that the police would come and the demonstrations would be over as usual. The police came and harassed the demonstrators but this time they didn't leave. Despite the Turkish police using gas and water hoses, the park was still full of people. Not just the stereotypical Turkish protester but every kind of person was there: high school students, elderly people, taxi drivers, prostitutes, artists, homosexuals; children, elites, Kurds,

in the 70s when many people were killed for speaking out. While younger people might not remember, our parents certainly do because they lived through those horrible days. What made people of all generations dare to protest while disregarding their fear of being killed for standing up? Perhaps because this time it was about the environment and excess development which is impossible to ignore. People demanded a humane life free from domination by a government that many Turkish people consider a

wanted to avoid violence but it was impossible. One guy stuck his hands deep in his pockets and stood silently for hours in the square. Even though he was just standing the police pushed him over. They couldn't tolerate seeing a man who was simply standing.

After months the government gave up building the shopping center, but this didn't resolve the main issues. It was a big disappointment for many people because the powers structure stayed the same and the media was still biased while business as usual continued. Nonetheless, the people of Turkey had stopped ignoring the fascism of the government and changed their minds. Defraudation, discrimination for marginalized people, putting Alevis, atheists and students on the spot had become part of the culture. Berkin Elvan, a fourteen year old boy who was going to buy bread for his family found himself on the wrong side of the protest and was gunned down.

His name has become another name on a wall in memory of all the injustice occurring. The problems haven't stopped. Secret tapes of president Erdogan have been released. When Turkey prepared for the election, the revolution in Ukraine inspired the youth of the country. I think that revolution is not impossible but will not be easy either! This is more than a personal hope. This is all in hopes of waking a generation to say "Stop" to all old fashioned mindsets, rules,



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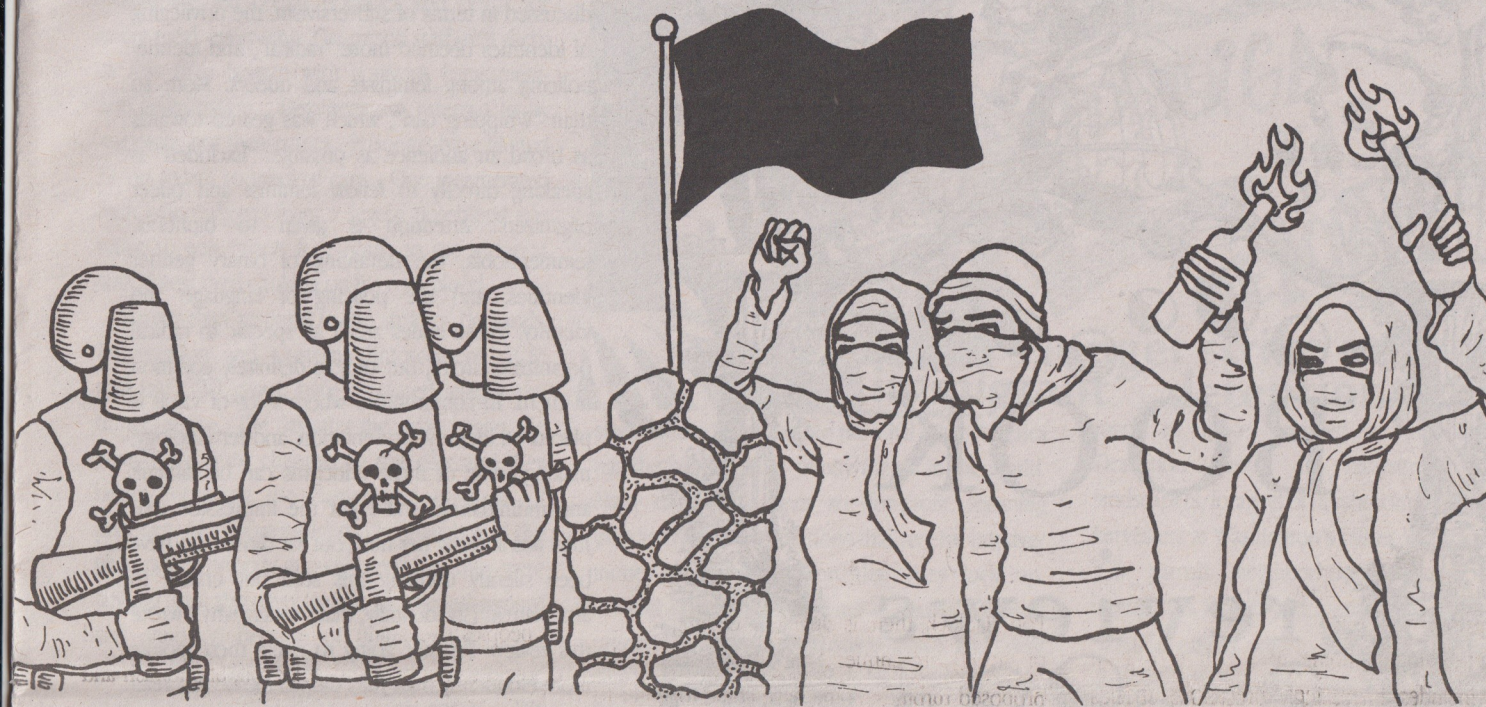
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His name has become another name on a wall in memory of all the injustice occurring. The problems haven't stopped. Secret tapes of president Erdogan have been released. When Turkey prepared for the election, the revolution in Ukraine inspired the youth of the country. I think that revolution is not impossible but will not be easy either! This is more than a personal hope. This is all in hopes of waking a generation to say "Stop" to all old fashioned mindsets, rules, laws, and political techniques. This incites the question, "If I am smarter, more open minded, more well-educated, more intelligent than the politicians, then how can they manage my rights?" This practically screams out, "We don't need borders, visas, stupid papers, ugly buildings, dirty air, artificial food, liar media, sexist beliefs, secret plans, war for more money, education for brain washing, taxes for the powerful, low living standards, gray cities, awful public transportation and health systems! We need trees, music, good books, sharing, love and understanding!" We understand that there is no problem with sexual, ethnic or religious differences -- the problem is where the power is placed.

What about the art covered walls in the streets? They painted them over in gray -- the government's favorite color. They are not fond of the idea of seeing art covered walls again, but we must still show our colorful life-styles, otherwise they will think we have turned gray, too.

After almost one year, Erdogan who had a Twitter account with 417 million followers



...hanging out on grassy knolls near freeways trying to find something besides pavement. Smelling and breathing the fumes of thousands of cars a few feet away shouldn't be the only access to nature. Of course people don't prefer to hang out there, but finding a green area is not easy in this city. That is why we and Istanbul cannot allow or afford to lose any more trees and nature as Istanbul is in need more shopping centers,

tourists, Muslims, intellectuals, etc. All sorts of different people were uniting behind a common goal. The goal was not just about saving a park anymore -- the goal was to change the government, the power structure, and the system.

Nobody could have foreseen this reaction. Turks as a people are afraid of protesting because of our bad collective memory of demonstrations

dictatorship. Every hour the protest became more and more powerful.

Together we built a free zone in the center of the city in which there were no police. People were sharing. We built a library, held concerts, practiced yoga, offered workshops, handed out free food, made art, and welcomed varied political ideas, sexual identities and religions. All of this wasn't easy. Dedicated anarchists constructed barricades around the park and fought against the police day and night. They were not violent to anyone directly, but they were willing to defend themselves. During the fighting, 6 young protesters were killed by the police. More than 8000 people were injured because of gas, water, and rubber bullets. The government pushed and attacked the protesters for hours. The stress of being abhorred by the populace caused at least 5 police officers to commit suicide

SQUARE

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either left defending oppressive actions, or feeling too disconnected from our fellow human beings to act. It is in this vein that rape victims are questioned about their instigation of the crimes rendered against them and black youths are suspects because of the clothes that they wear. It is this tool that was used to attempt to disassemble and destroy the workers rights movement, the civil rights movement, and every social movement in modern history.

"Because love is an act of courage, not of fear, love is a commitment to others." —Paolo Freire

The Public Square is a weapon and a tool to fight the divide-and-conquer strategy and create sustainable, equitable community. It's simple. The more we know each other, the less we fear each other. The less we fear each other, the more we interact with each other. The more we interact, the more we understand each other. The more we understand each other, listen to each other, make music together, and watch our children play together, the more we begin to care for each other. And in caring for each other, we see that each of our struggles and triumphs are connected. So that when the kid down the street

gets harassed, that's *our* kid, and when an elderly couple loses their electricity, we see them as *our* parents, *our* grandparents. Truly revolutionary action must be built on this foundation, a foundation where we see that we are all in this together. Because we *are* all in this together.

This, my dear fellow loving, striving, struggling, understanding friends is the key. In order to care for each other we must get to know each other. There must be a space for this. Where all people are welcome, regardless of their income or social status. Where all people feel welcome, regardless of their age, race, ability, or gender. A truly public square.

"Freedom is acquired by conquest, not by gift. It must be pursued constantly and responsibly. Freedom is not an ideal located outside of man; nor is it an idea which becomes myth. It is rather the indispensable condition for the quest for human completion." —Paolo Freire

This is my question and my inspiration. How do we create these spaces, in our day-to-day lives as well as on a larger scale? How can we reach beyond our habits and routines to include more of the world into our lives, our minds, and our hearts?

dictatorship. Every hour the protest became more and more powerful.

Together we built a free zone in the center of the city in which there were no police. People were sharing. We built a library, held concerts, practiced yoga, offered workshops, handed out free food, made art, and welcomed varied political ideas, sexual identities and religions. All of this wasn't easy. Dedicated anarchists constructed barricades around the park and fought against the police day and night. They were not violent to anyone directly, but they were willing to defend themselves. During the fighting, 6 young protesters were killed by the police. More than 8000 people were injured because of gas, water, and rubber bullets. The government pushed and attacked the protesters for hours. The stress of being abhorred by the populace caused at least 5 police officers to commit suicide.

Mainstream media didn't show any of the

We don't need borders, visas, stupid papers, ugly buildings, dirty air, artificial food, liar media, sexist beliefs, secret plans, war for more money, education for brain washing, taxes for the powerful, low living standards, gray cities, awful public transportation and health systems! We need trees, music, good books, sharing, love and understanding!

demonstrations, from walls on the street full of political mottoes and unique art, to hospitals full of injured protesters. When an entire country was standing up, CNN preferred to air a documentary about the lives of penguins. We had to create our own media with tablets, smart phones, social media and the Internet with the slogan "WE are media!"

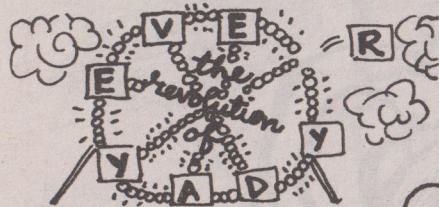
Everyone agreed to protest in a peaceful way from the first day. The protesters tried to give out flowers, read passages from powerful books loudly, share food and water, and give hugs. They

politicians, then how can they manage my rights?" This practically screams out, "We don't need borders, visas, stupid papers, ugly buildings, dirty air, artificial food, liar media, sexist beliefs, secret plans, war for more money, education for brain washing, taxes for the powerful, low living standards, gray cities, awful public transportation and health systems! We need trees, music, good books, sharing, love and understanding!" We understand that there is no problem with sexual, ethnic or religious differences -- the problem is where the power is placed.

What about the art covered walls in the streets? They painted them over in gray -- the government's favorite color. They are not fond of the idea of seeing art covered walls again, but we must still show our colorful life-styles, otherwise they will think we have turned gray, too.

After almost one year, Erdogan who had a Twitter account with 4.17 million followers, became outraged and called all social media, "the

worst menace to society," and banned Twitter just before the election. Within hours, hashtags including #Twitterisblockedinturkey and #DictatorErdogan were trending worldwide. Erdogan's Development Party (AKP), received 43 per cent of the overall vote from the last election. Many people reported that votes were stolen on social media. This scandal reminded us of Emma Goldman's quote; "If voting changed anything, they'd make it illegal." So if we can't change anything by voting, we should realize that now is the time to stand up and make change happen!



By Cari Luna

Tin House Books, 2013, 388 pgs

Reviewed by Teresa

At first glance, this novel appears to be a whimsical fantasy about five young people dealing with the emotional roller coaster of co-existence in a squat in New York's Lower East Side in the early 90s. But the book digs deeper than appearances, and squatting becomes a metaphor for love—love holding out against power at a time when power, as directed by money, began assaulting and rewriting the logic of our everyday lives.

In an author interview, Cari Luna explained that, even though she has never squatted, she was haunted by the memory of witnessing the 1995 eviction of two radical squats near the intersection of Avenue A and Thirteenth Street in Manhattan. Ten years later, she began writing a novel set in those squats because “the eviction of the Thirteenth Street squats seemed, to me, to mark the beginning of the end of the Lower East Side...the point when money had won.”

Actual building-occupiers might critique this book for the way it romanticizes squatting (there really isn't enough arguments about doing dishes in here to make it a realistic portrayal!), but perhaps this book is less about the ins and outs of squatting and more about the messy, beautiful logic of love as it barricades itself against the cold, effacing power of money. This is the last stand that all of us face as we protect what is meaningful from the forces of sterilization.



time, stopping in the 16th century to examine the birth of the fetish, breezing into the late 1960s to chat with Guy Debord and the Situationists, as they grapple with the notion that the commodity just might be created by the spectacle. The final chapter, “Cancelling the Project,” leaves us hanging. To find out how it ends, watch the revolution live from the comfort of the tree fort you'll build with all that free time you'll have thanks to your demotivational training.

My one critique is that this translation doesn't quite live up to the enjoyable whimsy of the original French. But it is good to finally get this book in English! It is quite readable, great fodder for any edupunk who wants to read the real critical theory they aren't teaching in college. A good pairing would be *The Coming Insurrection* by the Invisible Committee. At times this book transcends the struggle between capital and

being my well being, I still think of him fondly and genuinely mourn his passing.”

What I find truly exciting about this book is the way it is the opposite of the typical capitalist coming-of-age story (the tale of a protagonist being sorted into the system) and rather, we see the hero unsorted, liberated from the inner and outer shackles of hierarchy, as could only happen in a magical place and time before the empire of global capital became a totality, a time when it was possible to enter a different cultural logic. Sadly, this is a story that can only be imagined in this day and age, and must be relegated to the genre of fiction. It is the first book in a series by Combustion Books called “The Anarchist Imagination.”



analysis on why certain forms of sexism are pervasive in supposedly anti-sexist spaces and followed with some practical ways to combat this. With a blunt, thoughtful, and systematic writing style, Julia breaks down a complex intersectional problem in a way that's easy to follow and challenges us to actually do something about it.

Part One of “Excluded” chronicles Julia's personal experiences with what she calls “sexism-based exclusion”, a wide range of biases



and double-standards related to gender and sexuality. These forms of sexism are largely discussed in terms of subversivism, the privileging of identities deemed more “radical”, and identity policing among feminists and queers. More so than “Whipping Girl”, which was geared towards as broad an audience as possible, “Excluded” is speaking directly to fellow feminist and queer organizers. Attention is given to biphobia, femmephobia, the devaluing of binary gender identities, and the policing of language and identity. These issues aren't all specific to radical organizing circles, but they're definitely common in them. In communities where a lot of value is placed on identity, presentation, and terminology, making some of these criticisms can be difficult and intimidating, and I got the impression that Julia was sticking her neck out for those who have been silently thinking this stuff but unable to articulate it. (Incidentally, that's totally why I wrote

as directed by money, began assaulting and rewriting the logic of our everyday lives. In an author interview, Cari Luna explained that, even though she has never squatted, she was haunted by the memory of witnessing the 1995 eviction of two radical squats near the intersection of Avenue A and Thirteenth Street in Manhattan. Ten years later, she began writing a novel set in those squats because "the eviction of the Thirteenth Street squats seemed, to me, to mark the beginning of the end of the Lower East Side...the point when money had won."

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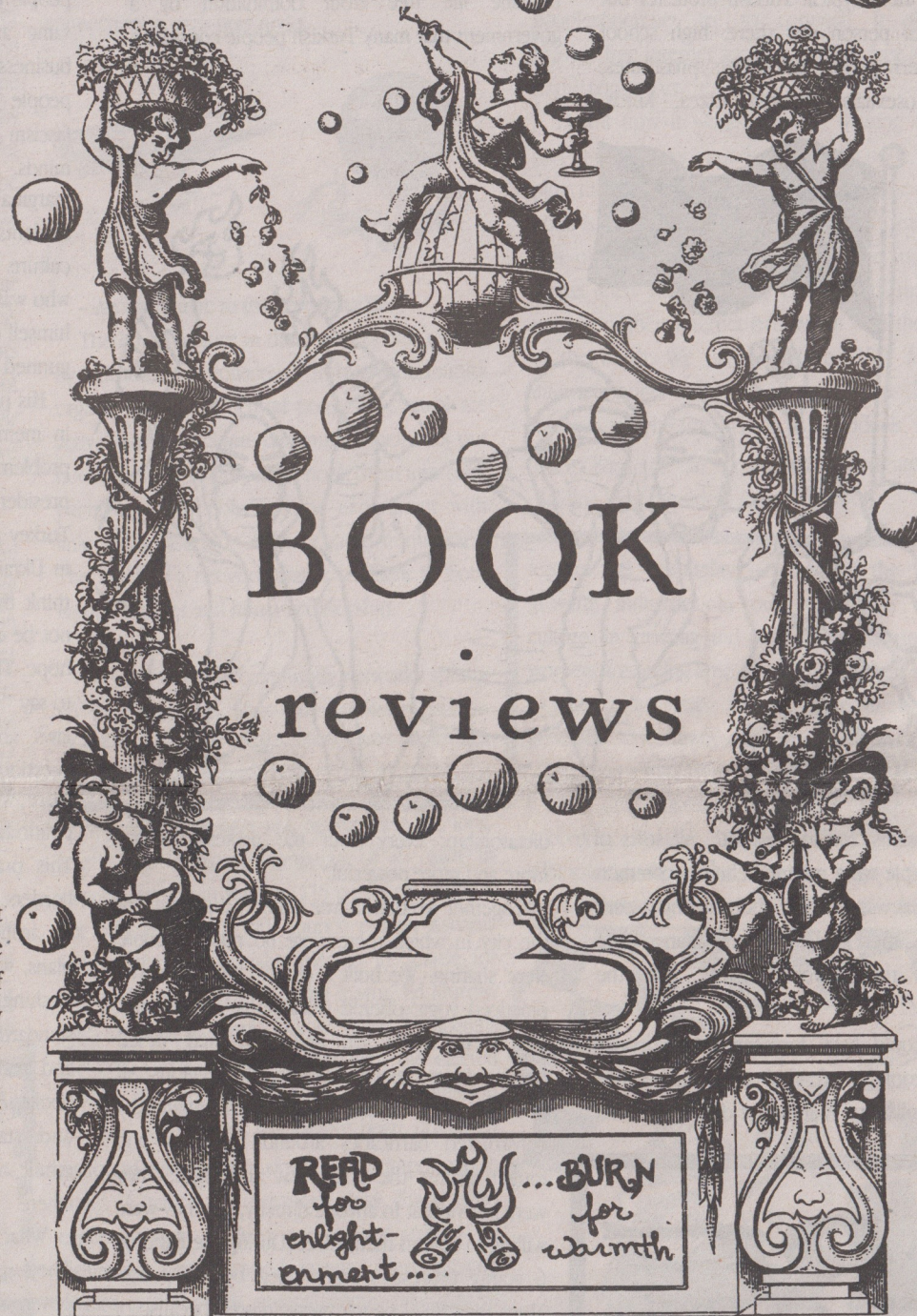
By Guillaume Paoli

Cruel Hospice Books, 2013, 146pgs.

Reviewed by Teresa

Feed your inner theory nerd with this fresh text from the French Post-Situationist movement. The opening chapter launches into a genealogy of capitalism's basic mechanism. This genealogy could be compared to Marx's genealogy of the commodity in the opening of *Capital*, however, rather than placing the commodity at the center of the political-economy, Paoli claims the culprit is none other than human motivation itself, human motivation hijacked by the logic of a nonsensical system of doing things. "You aren't in the traffic jam, you are the traffic jam." Paoli offers a meager cure, explaining, "the objective of practicing demotivation...would be rather to divest oneself from all the strategies that lead all of us...to the market, to methodically dismantle the mechanisms

theory they aren't teaching in college. A good pairing would be *The Coming Insurrection* by the Invisible Committee. At times this book transcends the struggle between capital and



workers and takes us to the very edge of the unfathomable, as the unfathomable attempts to recapture its rights.



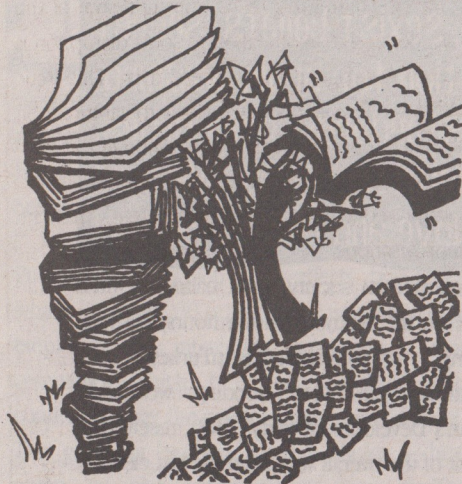
and double-standards related to gender and sexuality. These forms of sexism are largely discussed in terms of subversivism, the privileging of identities deemed more "radical", and identity policing among feminists and queers. More so than "Whipping Girl", which was geared towards as broad an audience as possible, "Excluded" is speaking directly to fellow feminist and queer organizers. Attention is given to biphobia, femmephobia, the devaluing of binary gender identities, and the policing of language and identity. These issues aren't all specific to radical organizing circles, but they're definitely common in them. In communities where a lot of value is placed on identity, presentation, and terminology, making some of these criticisms can be difficult and intimidating, and I got the impression that Julia was sticking her neck out for those who have been silently thinking this stuff but unable to articulate it. (Incidentally, that's totally why I wrote this review. I'm not going to make these points more eloquently than Julia did, so please just read her book.)

Julia does an amazing job of navigating the delicate territory between calling out your community and alienating them. I got the impression that a lot of care and intent went into the language used to talk about individual identities, but that punches weren't pulled when it came to discussing problematic behaviors. My favorite example of this is when Julia discusses the demographics of Mich Fest protesters at Camp Trans. Noting that the cooler-than-thou homogeneously edgy masculine-of-center white 20-something incarnation of "radical queers" really doesn't represent the vast majority of queer and trans folk, Julia suggests that this "radical queer community" is really just a social clique. Identity isn't the issue so much as the creation and accessing of spaces that leave a ton of fellow queers-with-radical-politics out. In other words,



Reviewed by Teresa

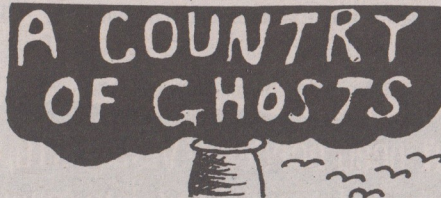
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company training methods, as workers are made to internalize the wills of their masters, and then down through the madhouse of workaholics, those whose lives are so stripped of meaning they can only bring themselves to work without even caring why. The fifth chapter is a trip through



workers and takes us to the very edge of the unfathomable, as the unfathomable attempts to recapture its rights.

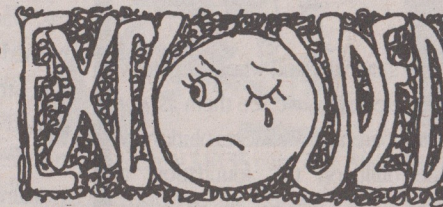


By Margaret Killjoy

Combustion Books, 2014, 198pgs.

Reviewed by Teresa

For those who wish to read their anarchism swathed in the clothing of a steampunk genre fiction, you're in luck! Madame Killjoy brings us a fantasy world chock-full of bowler hats, steam engines, and silly puns, where an anarchist society of self-directed folk is at the cusp of invasion by a mechanized hierarchical empire. We follow Dimos Horacki, a compassionate journalist within the empire as he is sent to the edge of his society as a war correspondent, only to quickly realize, "I just may be on the wrong side of the war." It is a story filled with beauty and sadness. An excerpt: "To his credit, Mitos Zalbei, with whom I had shared as few words as possible, stood over me and died with a rifle in his hands. I never liked him, and he never liked me, but he died fulfilling the arbitrary duty he had been assigned. That duty



by Julia Serano

Seal Press, 2013, 336 pages

Reviewed by Finn

"Excluded: Making Feminist and Queer Movements More Inclusive" is Julia Serano's most recent collection of essays. Readers might be familiar with Julia's work from "Whipping Girl", a collection of personal reflections on transmisogyny. "Excluded" picks up where "Whipping Girl" left off, continuing to confront transmisogyny and other forms of sexism, but within the context of feminist and queer



organizing. Split into two parts, "Excluded" begins with personal essays on how queer and feminist circles are often unfriendly to trans women, femmes, and bisexual identified folks. Julia's first-person accounts are paired with a healthy dose of

Julia does an amazing job of navigating the delicate territory between calling out your community and alienating them. I got the impression that a lot of care and intent went into the language used to talk about individual identities, but that punches weren't pulled when it came to discussing problematic behaviors. My favorite example of this is when Julia discusses the demographics of Mich Fest protesters at Camp Trans. Noting that the cooler-than-thou homogeneously edgy masculine-of-center white 20-something incarnation of "radical queers" really doesn't represent the vast majority of queer and trans folk, Julia suggests that this "radical queer community" is really just a social clique. Identity isn't the issue so much as the creation and accessing of spaces that leave a ton of fellow queers-with-radical-politics out. In other words, the problem isn't identity but the standard of identity. In line with this, getting sidelined for not seeming queer enough (or woman enough or cool enough and so on) is a running theme.

Ultimately, the point of "Excluded" is that feminist and queer organizing circles can perpetuate new forms of sexism, and in communities where heavy weight is given to (often academic and less accessible) language, identity, and presentation, false assumptions and double standards we hold inside ourselves are a major root of the problem.

What's especially valuable is that Julia goes beyond observing Things That Need to Change and offers several ways to counter sexism-based exclusion. Rather than focusing on affecting large-scale change, Julia's suggestions focus on small activist communities at the level of individual thought. Riding on the idea that sexism-based exclusion stems from false assumptions, Julia proposes ways to challenge our own and each other's thinking. We are encouraged to do this at multiple levels of human interaction, from questioning our sexuality (When you find a certain gender unattractive, why is that? Mere lack of

interest, or judgment or disgust or fear?) to spotting and confronting double-standards that pop up in organizer spaces (what do you do when a women-only space allows trans masculine folks while banning trans women?). I found Julia's concept of "ethically gendering" ourselves especially mind-blowing. She suggests that identity can be consensual and ethical when self-validated and contained, but unethical when it depends on another person's identity for reinforcement. That is, if my masculine non-binary identity was threatened by a genderqueer femme's expression, I'd be non-consensually burdening that person with my assumptions about how a non-binary gender identity should exist. In addition to the serious self-examinations, more concrete aspects of Julia's toolkit include using constructive criticism to avoid alienating potential allies with aggressive call-outs, trying to balance our inward focus on individual identities with outward effort, and losing the assumption that people sharing an identity will share the same needs, wants, and politics.

These ideas won't cause a massive scale gender revolution, but they're not intended to. Julia is providing a workable toolkit for moving towards inclusiveness within specific activist circles. Much of what Julia says distills down to her call to "expect heterogeneity", which just means tossing out expectations about who might be included in "The Queer/Feminist/Radical Movement". Everyone is fucking different, and not always in ways we expect. If this book were to have a weak spot, it would probably be if Julia's strategies for inclusion didn't work. However, you'd be hard-pressed to make it through this book without at least spending some time working on your own way of thinking. Being asked to step outside of your comfort zone can be scary and challenging, and this (to me at least) is the most awesome thing about this book - there's a serious invitation for the reader to grow.

rabbit, Rabbit, rabbit #2 \$2 or trade
654 Highlandview dr.

West Bend, WI 53095
colinquackpack@live.com

Covering the sublime moments of a small town punk existence. Mostly it documents various bands using photos and hand scrawled notes that are dripping with enthusiasm. Throw in some meditations that aim to inject a new world onto their land of routine. This issue also has a recipe for iced coffee. Some of the hand writing is hard to read and most of the descriptions are so brief you can blink and miss the point. I get the impression that the author is trying to condense his experiences and say much in very little space. Each page has a cut and paste approach which gives extra life to a "sleepy place need(ing) a wake up call." (egg)

Assume Nothing #1 (\$3)
edited by Ess Elle

assumenothingzine.tumblr.com

Judging from the cover, Assume Nothing looked like just another generic political zine with very little focus, but in actuality it was full of history, personal narratives, critical theory, poetry, and musical lyrics about a very specific subject: living with herpes. (Of course, the title insists that we refuse to make assumptions based on external appearances; lesson learned!) Clocking in at a generous 47 pages, *Assume Nothing* #1 speaks forcefully about the stigmatization of STDs (or is it STIs? STAs?), and fundamentally changed some of my perspective on herpes, safer sex, and even consent. The chapter on STI disclosure is also available as a wallet-sized stand-alone zine! etsy.com/shop/polycultures (x.lenc)

Voices of the Lucasville Uprising Volume 1
lucasvilleamnesty.org

The Lucasville Uprising was a prison rebellion against oppression and racism at the Southern Ohio Correctional Facility (SOCF) just outside of the village of Lucasville. Nine inmates and one guard were killed in what was the longest prison rebellion in which lives were lost in US history. I find it remarkable primarily for how it brought African American and white inmates together.

This 'zine contains essays by and one about people who were incarcerated in the SOCF during the 1993 uprising. There is also a few very well drawn pictures, done by one of the ex-Lucasville inmates who is on death row for his alleged role in the uprising. This 'zine is a good place to start for those who want to learn more about the uprising, prisons, and the complexity of prisoners and their alliances whether one agrees with their politics or perhaps even oppose them. Includes prisoners' contact info. (A. Iwasa)

Destroy the Scene: BROS FALL BACK
antieverysinghshows@gmail.com
poczineproject.tumblr.com

This was my first experience reading a PDF zine, but I feel like I appreciated it more because it looks like scans of the originals. Bros Fall Back has been out for almost a year, but it is very timely in light of what seems like a cycle of people not being accountable for shit that makes other community members feel unsafe or disrespected. What is the 'scene' really accomplishing when certain people feel excluded and unwanted? Is the scene simply another cis/white centric metric of capitalism? I feel like this Zine addresses these questions (and more) with a bullet. If you haven't read it, you really should. Contribute to the death of your 'inner bro.' (torn)

The Stowaways #15 (\$2)
by Christopher Gordon

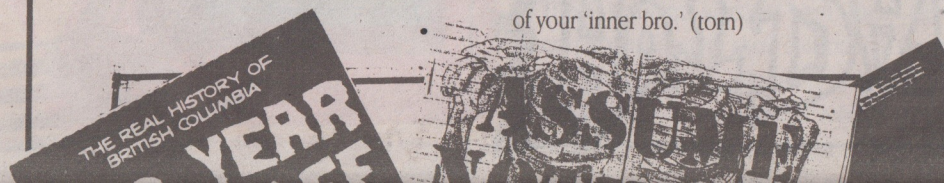
5082 Wendover Rd
Yorba Linda, CA 92886
fuckthestowaways.blogspot.com

The Stowaways is a great punk zine because it's written by someone who goes to a fuckload of shows, so almost any DIY-minded (not necessarily just punk) band that passes through the Orange County/Los Angeles area has at least a passing chance at getting a show review. Unfortunately, the reviews aren't always very *comprehensive* (one act, for example, is acerbically dismissed as a 'fucking stupid band' with no further explanation), but the author's enthusiasm about the bands he loves often makes up for it. The zine also includes interviews with Elliot Babin (Dad Punchers, DNF, Touche Amore) and Kris Westreich (Colossal Wrecks) which was totally readable but sometimes suffered from 'Awkward-First-Date-itis' (e.g. "Do you have any other siblings?") and a pleasantly incisive editorial about racism in the punk scene. I'll definitely be around for #16. (x.lenc)

Cheap Toys #4 Fall 2013
2 Euros ppd or a cool trade
19, Montee du Caroubier
06240 Beausoleil, France
xtramedium@laposte.net

The editor is a former small town punk turned activist turned academic researcher who's really excited about library studies. This issue seems to be travel logs of the international DIY/punk scene of North America. My 8th grade studies couldn't help me with the passages written in French--which the cursive typewriter didn't help any. There are other pages written by hand or a computer, overall it has a promising feel to it. (egg)

Gallery Noctem
1557 Spring Creek Dr.
LaJette, CO 80026



or what Julia says distills down to her call to "expect heterogeneity", which just means tossing out expectations about who might be included in "The Queer/Feminist/Radical Movement". Everyone is fucking different, and not always in ways we expect. If this book were to have a weak spot, it would probably be if Julia's strategies for inclusion didn't work. However, you'd be hard-pressed to make it through this book without at least spending some time working on your own way of thinking. Being asked to step outside of your comfort zone can be scary and challenging, and this (to me at least) is the most awesome thing about this book - there's a serious invitation for the reader to grow.



Edited by Roy San Filippo
AK Press, 2002, 112 pages
Reviewed by Alex Iwasa

This fall will mark the 25th anniversary of the founding of Love and Rage as a network of activists from the U\$, Mexico and Canada, organized to produce a revolutionary newspaper, which by 1993 became a membership based federation. That fall, editor Roy San Filippo joined and worked with the paper's production group for three years and served a term on Love and Rage's coordinating committee.

A New World in Our Hearts: Eight Years of Writing from the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation is a great start for people who want an at least partial understanding of how the anti-authoritarian Left in the U\$ got to where it was by 1998, and how we can hopefully break some of the cycles of mistakes and outright wrongdoings that have continued since then, many of which have gotten worse.

Printed in 2003, this book is "a first step in preserving the organizational legacy, ideas, debates, and history beyond the political life span of the individual members of Love and Rage." A second step is long over due. There is a Love and

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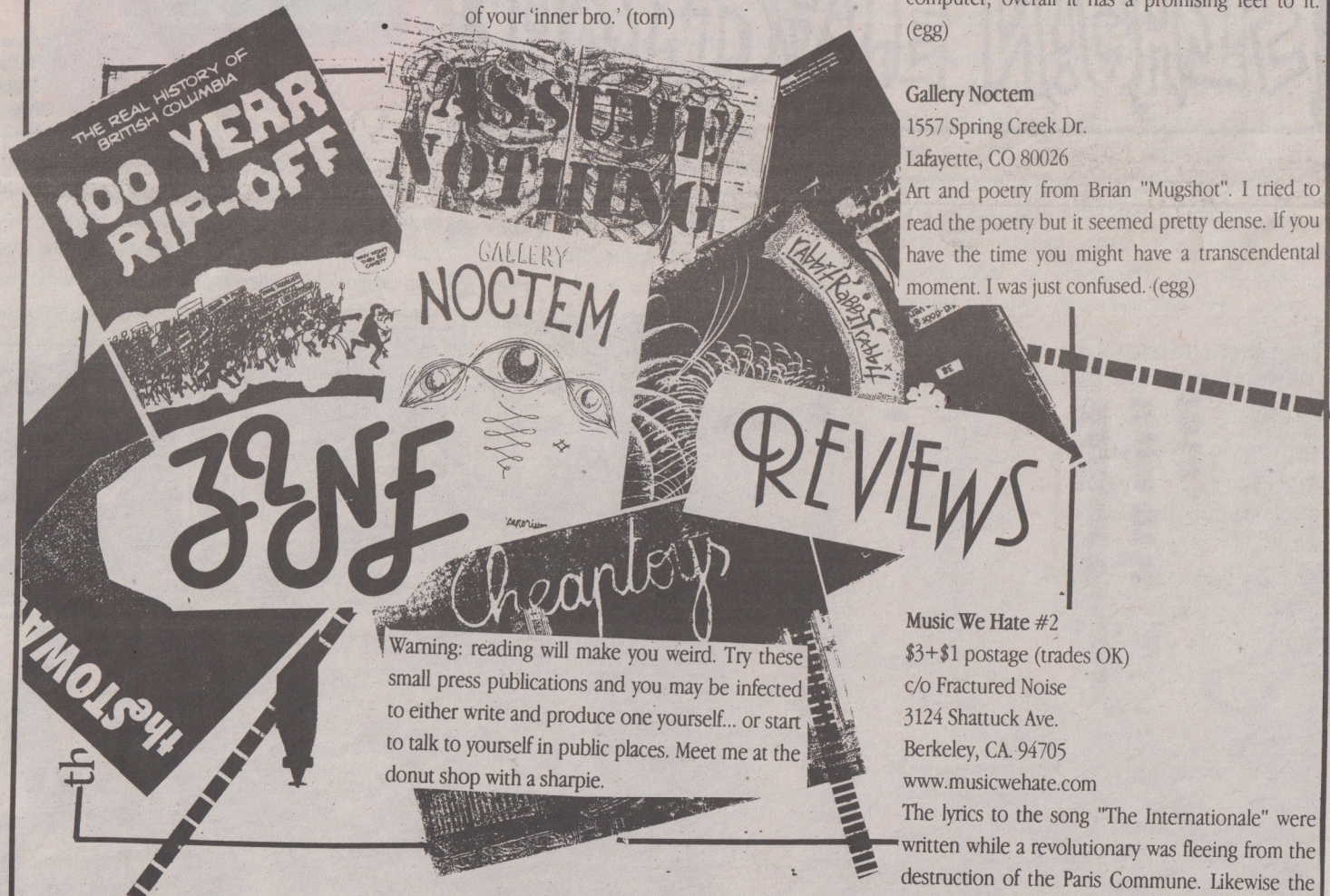
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Gallery Noctem

1557 Spring Creek Dr.
Lafayette, CO 80026

Art and poetry from Brian "Mugshot". I tried to read the poetry but it seemed pretty dense. If you have the time you might have a transcendental moment. I was just confused. (egg)



100 Year Rip-Off: The Real History of British Columbia, (\$5)

by Bob Simms and Bob Altwein
adastracomix.com

Like a lot of people in the United States, I know even less about Canadian history than I do about South African, Russian, or even Croatian history, and this well-made folio (which was really more of

functionally ill #17

functionallyill.blogspot.com

This is a 'zine done by Laura-Marie, a 37 year old diagnosed with schizoaffective disorder, bipolar type. This particular issue deals with therapy and Laura-Marie's feelings for her therapist, experiencing rapid cycling of depression and mania's ups and downs. body

Music We Hate #2

\$3+\$1 postage (trades OK)
c/o Fractured Noise
3124 Shattuck Ave.
Berkeley, CA. 94705
www.musicwehate.com

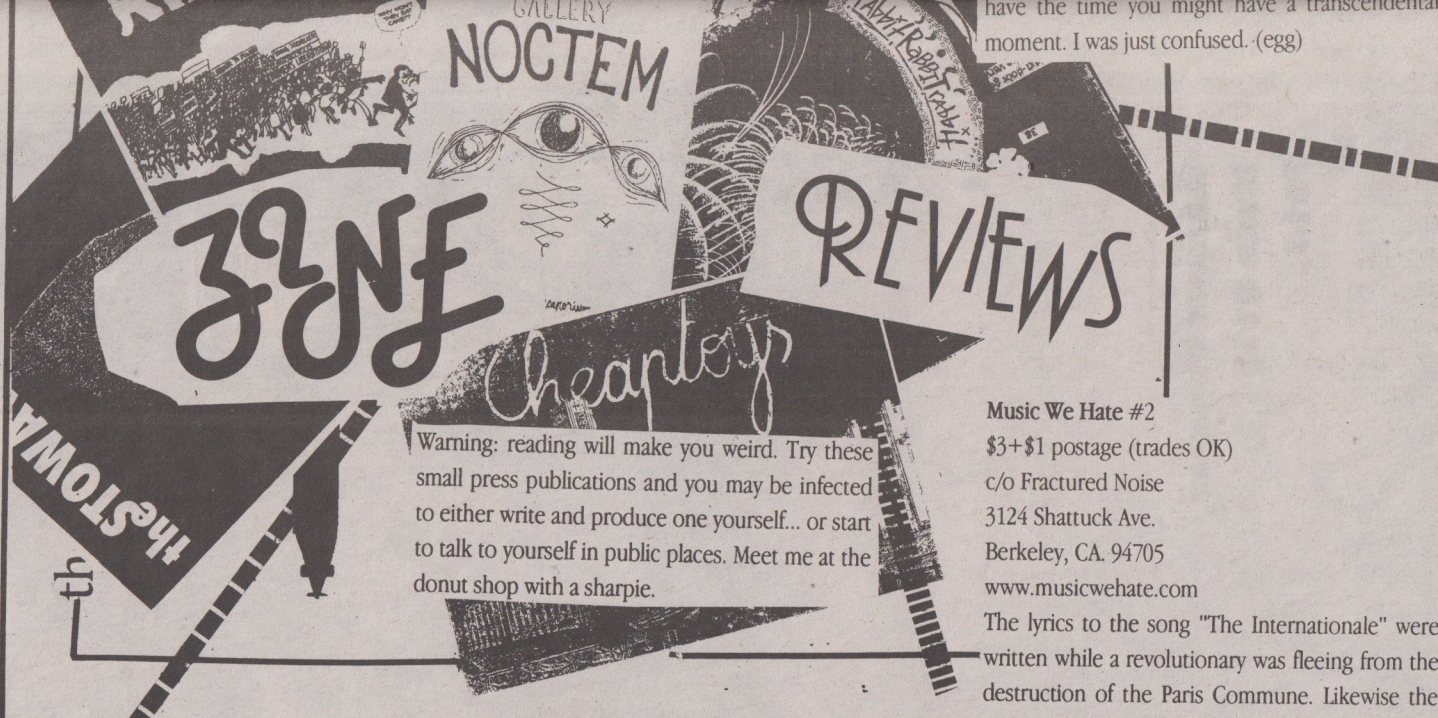
The lyrics to the song "The Internationale" were written while a revolutionary was fleeing from the destruction of the Paris Commune. Likewise the author of this zine fled a brief spark of revolution — this time in 2009 on the campus of UC Berkeley. Shifting his focus from upheaval of the classroom (and all of reality) to sonic disruption is what he's resigned to do these days. This issue uses interviews and show reviews to capture a bit of what is done at noise events. Though the form has been developing for a few decades it remains

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Printed in 2003, this book is "a first step in preserving the organizational legacy, ideas, debates, and history beyond the political life span of the individual members of Love and Rage." A second step is long over due. There is a Love and Rage archive available at loveandrage.org and a number of other websites contain articles by and about Love and Rage. But an in-depth, systematic study of the polemical debates and activism of Love and Rage, at least of a few core issues such as race and strategy, would benefit comrades today greatly since we are facing too many of the same things, many of which are worse. A look towards the work of directly related post Love and Rage groups such as Bring the Ruckus would also be invaluable to people who continue to struggle for radical change today. If you are interested in helping with this, please write alextheweaver@gmail.com!



Warning: reading will make you weird. Try these small press publications and you may be infected to either write and produce one yourself... or start to talk to yourself in public places. Meet me at the donut shop with a sharpie.

100 Year Rip-Off: The Real History of British Colombia, (\$5)

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adastracomix.com

Like a lot of people in the United States, I know even less about Canadian history than I do about South African, Russian, or even Croatian history, and this well-made folio (which was really more of a history with graphic accompaniment than a 'comic') seemed like a great place to start. It's a re-release of a 1971 comic ('remastered' by N. M. Guiniling) that, despite a 40+ year content gap since its original publication and some frustrating oversimplifications (i.e. the assertion that WWI was nothing more than a dedicated industrialist conspiracy to increase product demand), still manages to enlighten capture attention with its Rocky & Bullwinkle-esque cartoons and refreshing attention to a slice of labor history I'd never heard of. <http://adastracomix.com/> (x.lenc)

functionally ill #17

functionallyill.blogspot.com

This is a 'zine done by Laura-Marie, a 37 year old diagnosed with schizoaffective disorder, bipolar type. This particular issue deals with therapy and Laura-Marie's feelings for her therapist, experiencing rapid cycling of depression and mania's ups and downs, body image, navigating through the process of trying to get on disability and dreams. Most of the stories are short but punchy, nicely formatted and the binding is hand stitched. (A. Iwasa)

Tat Rat Comix #4

Cameron Forsley
Po Box 720283
S.F. CA 94172

Sick looking underground art. Half-size format good to sneak peaks at (in class? during interrogation?) with lots of hidden content worth staring at. Proof that LSD hasn't left the Bay Area with the cancerous yuppiefication. (egg)

Music We Hate #2

\$3+\$1 postage (trades OK)
c/o Fractured Noise
3124 Shattuck Ave.
Berkeley, CA. 94705
www.musicwehate.com

The lyrics to the song "The Internationale" were written while a revolutionary was fleeing from the destruction of the Paris Commune. Likewise the author of this zine fled a brief spark of revolution — this time in 2009 on the campus of UC Berkeley. Shifting his focus from upheaval of the classroom (and all of reality) to sonic disruption is what he's resigned to do these days. This issue uses interviews and show reviews to capture a bit of what is done at noise events. Though the form has been developing for a few decades it remains cutting edge by emphasizing free thought, improvisation and provocation. The conversations captured here are pretty cool and readable. They only briefly relate on other performers (which will mainly interest those in the know) and spend quite a bit on contemplating ideas. The two musicians documented seem like smart people who attest to how the genre is staunchly DIY yet is often treated as an annoying little brother by rock/punk/metal enthusiasts. The editor Joey Refugio also is interested in giving space to artists who are politically inspired (as opposed to reactionary). (egg)

Long Haul
3124 Shattuck Avenue
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Slingshot is made in the creepy & haunted

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Open Mon-Thurs 6-9 & Sat/Sun 3-9

www.thelonghaul.org

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HOT DATE NIGHTS

April 22nd - May Day

Earth Day to May Day direct actions
afgj.org/earth-day-to-may-day

April 27 - 1-6pm

People's Park 45th Anniversary Concert

May 3-4

2nd Annual Comox Valley Anarchist Book Fair,
Cumberland, BC asmattamay@hotmail.com

May 17

New York Anarchist Book Fair - Judson
Memorial Church, 55 Washington Square South
www.anarchistbookfair.net/

May 23-25

Farm Conference on Community and
Sustainability - Summertown, TN
thefarmcommunity.com

May 24th - Time TBD

March Against Monsanto San Francisco
www.facebook.com/groups/MAMSF

May 24-25

Montreal Anarchist Bookfair - Two locations:
Centre Culturel Georges-Vanier, 2450 rue
Workman www.anarchistbookfair.ca

June 7, 2014 - 1-6pm

Scranton Zine Fest - Scranton, PA - Tripp Park
Community Center, 2000 Dorothy St, Scranton,
PA scrantonzinefest.weebly.com

June 27 - 3pm

Trans march - Dolores Park, SF transmarch.org

June 28

Dyke march - Dolores Park, SF
facebook.com/sfdykemarch

July 1-7(ish)

Earth First Round River Rendezvous
earthfirstjournal.org/ef-round-river-rendezvous/

July 25

Deadline for radical contacts, cover art and
submissions for 2015 Slingshot organizer

July 29 - August 5

Moving Beyond Capitalism Conference - Center
for Global Justice, San Miguel de Allende,
Mexico www.globaljusticecenter.org/

August 2/3 - 10am-12am

Layout party for 2015 Slingshot Organizer -
3124 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley

August 7-11

Bay Area Solidarity Summer
solidaritysummer.org

August 9

North American Hitchgathering - South Fork of
the Yuba River

August 17 - 4pm

Slingshot new volunteer meeting - 3124
Shattuck Ave., Berkeley

August 18-25

Trans & Womyn Action Camp - Calistoga, CA
rsvp: twacbayarea@riseup.net

August 30-31 - 11am-5pm

13th Annual SF Zine Fest - SF County Fair
Building, 1199 9th Ave (at Lincoln)
www.sfzinefest.org/

September 13

Article deadline for Slingshot issue #117
mail to: slingshot@tao.ca

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Issue #116
2014

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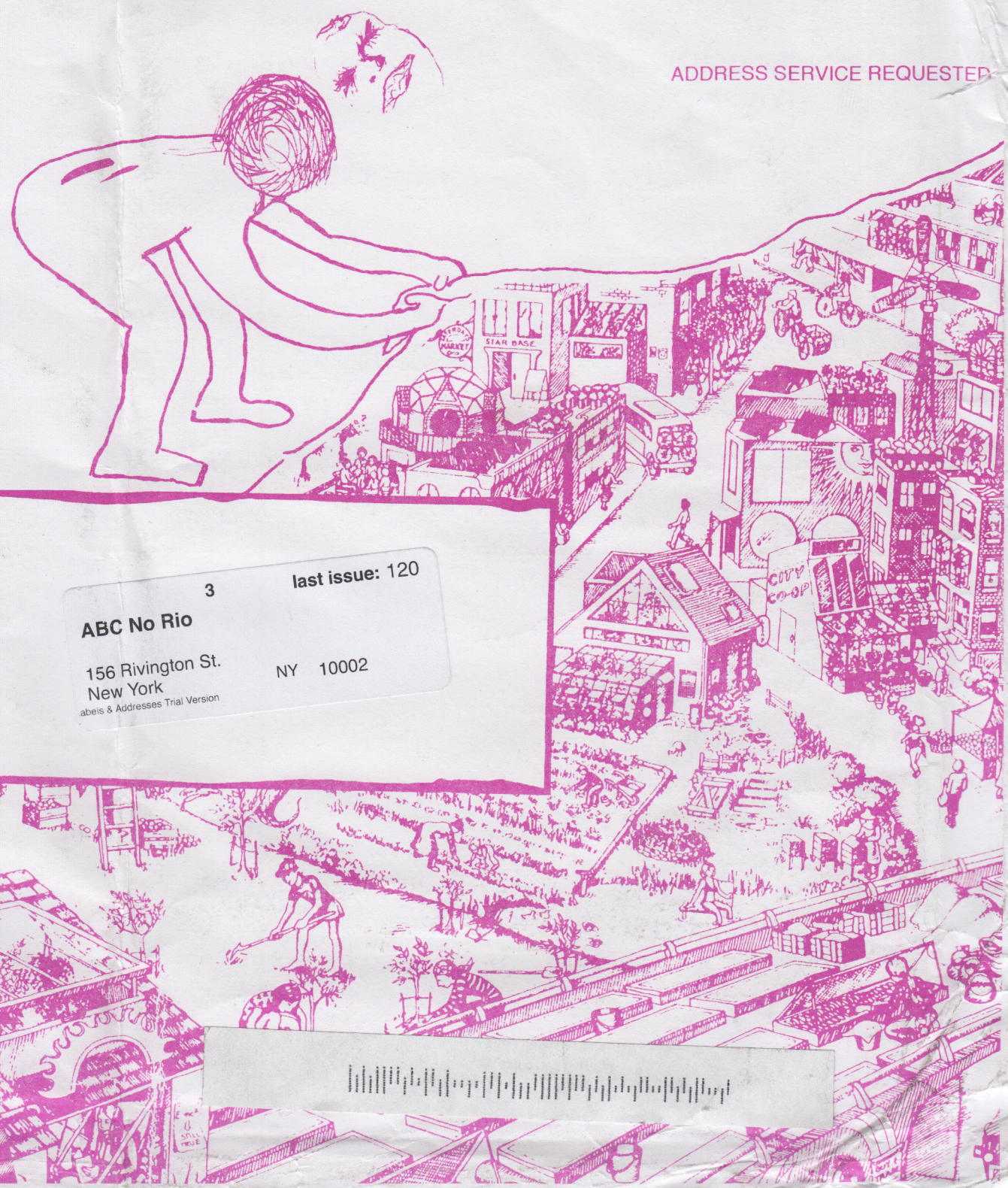
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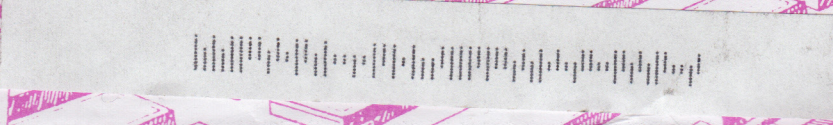
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